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THE ARYAN PATH

Point out the "Way" — however dimly, and lost among the host — as does the evening star to those who tread their path in darkness.
—The Voice of the Silence

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"THUS HAVE I HEARD"—

MORAL PRINCIPLES IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORLD

Only base minds reckon whether one be kin or stranger. Men of noble conduct take the whole world for their home.—*Hitopadesha*

Time drags on slowly; but time also flies. The ten years since the martyrdom of Gandhiji look very long, but also very short—so many outer changes have taken place in India and in the world, and so few as far as moral principles are concerned.

Much has been written about Gandhiji's strenuous life and stupendous work, and their magnificent outcome in and for India.

The second day of October is his Natal Day and naturally the minds of all lovers of peace and real human progress will turn to Gandhiji's efforts and achievements.

At this hour the inhuman, unjust and cruel policy of the South African Government affects the hearts of millions of men and women, and world opinion is trying to gather force for adequate expression. It is opportune, therefore, to reflect upon the work of Gandhiji in South Africa. The story of his struggle there between 1893 and 1914 has a message today for the entire international world.

Professor A. Berriedale Keith says that "for the history of the British Commonwealth prime importance must attach to his [Gandhiji's] services in South Africa." Why? Because his programme and policy espoused "the cause of recognition of the value of human personality." This was said in 1939. The results of the Second World War and the agonizing conditions found today everywhere, in East and West alike, make the Edinburgh Professor's words applicable to the human race as a whole. A great loss has already been suffered, for the value of human personality has declined.

Berriedale Keith added that since Gandhiji's departure "a narrow-minded racialism has once more

gained increasing power"; if in 1939 this was "a matter for deep regret," what is the position in 1957? The United Nations Organization and the great Powers, the U.S.A. and Britain, Russia and China, are unable to stop the tyranny and immorality involved in the South African Government's crime of *apartheid*. It seems as if his stupendous achievement in beneficence is now lost.

What about Gandhiji's native land—India? The Hon. Jan H. Hofmeyer, then (in 1939) Chancellor of Witwatersrand University, had insight, for he wrote:—

> Often there is justice in the working of history. India, though not of its own volition, had given to South Africa one of the most difficult of its problems. South Africa in its turn, likewise not of its own volition, gave to India the idea of civil disobedience.

Karma, the Law of Justice that adjusts effects to causes, implicit in the above-quoted passage, needs proper study, reflection and consideration by all Indians who are lovers of humanity and champions of the building of One World. How is India going to use South Africa's gift referred to in the above quotation? It is not enough that India should negotiate on behalf of the Indians in South Africa and try to alleviate their woes. India must rise to help the millions of Negroes in South Africa. India must put into practice the doctrine of Universal Brotherhood and not only National Brotherhood. India must uphold "the value of human personality" and not merely the status of her own nationals. The former attitude is ensouled by moral principles; the latter by socio-political expediency. The Black Man is as valuable to civilization as the Brown Man; both the White Man and the Black are brothers to the Brown.

Are we strong enough *morally* to champion the cause of Human Personality? Are we living in peace and harmony among ourselves? In other words, are we following the principles of Gandhian Morality? If so, to what extent?

Is the Indian Government of today *practising* moral principles in the formulation of its budget, in its industrial planning, in its language and provincial programmes, in its religious secularism, and in other ways?

Let us search our hearts on the 2nd of October—leaders and led alike. Self-examination in the light of Gandhiji's moral principles will reveal our limitations as well as our achievements. Intellectual honesty will lead us to the insight necessary to purify our national morality. It will bring us the courage to effect self-improvement. This is a greater and holier task than Five-Year Plans, than the starving out of English and the forcing of Hindi on all Indians, than any other projects for outer change, important though some of these may be.

SHRAVAKA

GANDHIAN IDEALS IN THE INDIA OF TODAY

[In this outspoken article **Shri N. B. Parulekar** presents an accurate reading of political conditions prevailing today.

Great deeds cannot be expected from small minds, he asserts; the number of liberal and unselfish, non-violent and truthful, minds is small in the Congress but not in the country; what is said of other political parties, and especially of the principles of Communism, is, alas! too true. Our contributor speaks of a "purge" in the Congress ranks—by what process? A violent purge? India is said to be an infant democracy—must it pass through the experiences other democracies have muddled through? Cannot India discard these and proceed to establish its own special pattern of democracy? Bolshevik principles poison corporate and personal life and therefore must be opposed; are prevailing conditions in Western democracies of such moral superiority as to meet the requirements of Gandhian statesmanship? Does democracy necessarily require an opposition to the ruling party? Is there not a possible way whereby opposing political units can be brought to work together to create a spiritual Gandhian democracy? These and other points are implicit in this article, which is very appropriate for this month of October, on the 2nd of which India will be celebrating Gandhi Jayanti.—ED.]

The process of building up the new India of our conception is today in progress. The political freedom that we have won has to be made stable and preserved. And economic freedom, not only for the country as a whole but also for the individual citizen, must be achieved; freedom from social disabilities among the members of different communities must be brought about. This means that we are aiming at an all-round transformation of society in the political, economic and social fields. We have chosen "democracy" as the system through which to achieve this. But ours is an infant democracy. We cannot accept any of the so-called "democracies" of the West as an ideal model to be copied in its entirety. We must develop our democracy on appropriate new lines of our own. We cannot draw in advance the complete picture of our democracy as it is to be. We need only to choose the right type of means, which must be, according to Gandhiji's teachings, the fairest and the purest. When we take care of these means and scrupulously pursue them, we need not worry, Gandhiji assured us, about the achievement of our ends, which are bound to be the loftiest.

The Indian National Congress, the largest democratic organization in India, representing the majority opinion, which fought for India's freedom under Gandhiji's guidance, was expected to pursue Gandhian teachings in bringing about India's

all-round regeneration. Gandhiji's doctrine of Non-violence and Truth, with all its implications, had a spiritual basis and true religious fervour, and in persuading the Congress to adopt it, not merely as a policy but as an inviolable creed, he sought to make India recognize the practicability of the spiritual life in the political world. He claimed it to be the most potent, infallible and invincible weapon of Soul Force against evil. He was an upholder of democracy and believed in the inherent goodness of human nature, which was capable of responding to appeals to better instincts and of rising to loftier heights. He was, in fact, one with those champions of democracy who held that the strength

for great social transformation comes from a fervour which has been called religious. In every civilized community there has been and is some force moving men more deeply than appetites that can be satisfied by goods and services. That force is called traditionally the Spiritual Power. The structure of society must be such as to include a place for the functioning of the Spiritual Power. No great deeds can be done by small men. Democracy needs a larger company of great men and their greatness does not mean a mere capacity for catching the limelight. The State's function is to give to the individuals the equipment, the scope and the leisure to develop the best in them, and when this is done there should be no difficulty in making the individual feel that no impediment is left in the way of his right to the full development and expression of his personality.

Gandhiji wanted every Congressman to make an honest and sincere effort to enforce his teachings in his private life and by his personal example to spread these teachings and their practice among the masses. In order to lift the masses out of the common round of habit, the truth also, he insisted, required constant and extensive demonstration, because long repetition of an untruth hypnotized one into believing it an unchallengeable truth. Strict adherence to his teachings would have meant, as its primary essentials, adopting a voluntary simplicity and recognizing the sacredness of all human beings, and prevented the exploitation of the weak and needy by the strong and the advantageously-placed—in short, it would have meant putting a stop to acquisitive and possessive tendencies. The spirit of self-sacrifice and service would have been the inspiration for all human activities. Reconstruction of the economic order of society would have been based on equality of status for all and an equitable distribution of wealth, and co-operation so secured would have been an impetus in the production of wealth. Life would have been based, not on the struggle for the satisfaction of many and ever-increasing wants, but on reducing them to the minimum. Self-sufficiency of villages would have been the aim and the revival of cottage industries would have received more

attention in order to bring about the decentralization of economic power towards that end. The top administrative expenses, such as, for instance, for the upkeep of the palatial Government Houses and Gardens would have been so cut down as to set an example in simplicity. There would have been no need for untruth, violence and hypocrisy. And a large non-violent army, engaged in reconstructive activities, would have come into existence.

Have we been able firmly to stick to these Gandhian principles and ideals?

Admittedly we have, since independence, been drifting farther and farther away from the Gandhian ideology. And if the drift continues, where will we end? When the Congress assumed the reins of government, many of the self-seekers and opportunists, who never had faith in the practicability of Gandhian principles, lost no time in entering the Congress organization. Their sole and only object in so doing was to have a larger share for themselves in the loaves and fishes. In order to make the Congress organization the biggest and the strongest with an eye to success in the elections, the Congress leaders threw the doors of the organization wide open and indiscriminately allowed all and sundry to enter them without pausing to consider how far there was a change of heart in all these entrants so that they believed in Gandhian ideas and how far they would help to enhance the prestige of the Congress. Staunch Gandhians were left out in the cold. The inevitable result was that in these opportunists' self-seeking struggle for the posts of power, honour and wealth, Gandhian principles came to be thrown to the winds; and it came to be said openly that Gandhiji's doctrines of Truth and Non-violence had long since gone away with him. "Follow the Gandhian way" remained only on the lips while speaking from public platforms, while in practice anti-Gandhian ways were being embraced.

It is a well-recognized principle that "any step towards the abolition of privileges is a step towards democracy," and that, so long as society is composed of the privileged and the non-privileged classes, of unequals, there can hardly be any real co-operation or scope for a good democracy to come into existence and function. But many of these so-called Congressmen believed that they were born to enjoy the privileges and that there was nothing wrong in struggling to preserve them. Although lofty and flattering phrases were constantly used towards the non-privileged classes and "have-nots," actually little was intended or came to be done to improve their lot. It was not difficult for the masses to notice the wide gulf between the professions and the practice of most Congressmen and the growing hypocrisy. Capitalism, communalism and commercialism

dominated the Congress, and the ideal of "equality of opportunity" remained a mirage. The masses showed enough patience, relying on the utterances of the top-ranking Congress leaders, but discontent went on increasing at the state of affairs as no improvement was noticeable. Congressmen in general came to be looked upon with contempt instead of with respect, and the prestige of the Congress continued to fall lower and lower. The top-ranking Congress leaders realized that a large number of undesirable elements had swelled the Congress ranks, and very often talked of the necessity of a purge, but they failed to effect any.

The other political parties, who never believed that human nature was ever capable of rising to lofty moral heights and who took democracy to mean the highest common factor of ordinary interests, passions and weaknesses, have not been slow to exploit the discontent of the masses by appealing to the baser human instincts to discredit the Congress.

The masses find no improvement in their economic condition. The cost of living is ever on the increase and there is little corresponding addition to the income of the average man. There is thus, the masses feel, very little difference between what the Congressmen are doing today and what, at the worst, can be imagined at the hands of the opponents of the Congress. No wonder that the masses, out of sheer disgust at the Congressmen's exhibition of an utter lack of steadfast conviction of Gandhian ideals, their evasion of the obligation to pursue those ideals, and their consequent utter failure to fulfil their oft-repeated pledges and promises, appear today more inclined towards putting in power the avowed opponents of the Congress. The success of a large number of anti-Congress elements at the last General Elections is a clear indication of this mood of the masses.

Since in one of the States of the Union the Communists won a majority and a Communist Government had to be formed, the question before many of us today is whether the whole of India will go Communist. But the answer to this it would not be difficult for us to find if we give careful thought to the following. Would the Indian people as a whole prefer the Communists' rule with all their known means and methods? Would they like themselves to be driven like beasts, or would they love to live like human beings with the rights of freedom of speech and freedom of movement? Are we going to discard Gandhian teachings as being impracticable? Have they become altogether extinct?

Gandhian ideals, with their basis in the purity of means, even the partial observance of which helped us to win our political freedom, will never be altogether extinct. Shri

Vinoba Bhave, who is an embodiment of Gandhiji's teachings and his spiritual heir, has been, with a band of thorough Gandhians, carrying the torch of these teachings among the masses. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji's political heir, has a deep respect for all that Gandhiji preached. And, as far as India's foreign affairs are concerned, he has been holding the torch of Gandhian ideas high, and what prestige India enjoys abroad is solely due to him. He and other top-ranking Congress leaders like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Maulana Azad are not unaware of the fact that unless the Congress is able not only to retain but also to enhance its prestige at home by returning to Gandhian ideals, India's prestige abroad will not last long. They are all anxious to see how the Congress can regain its prestige at home. They realize that there must take place a drastic purge of the undesirable elements from the Congress. But a way must be found effectively to bring about such a purge and those concerned must be bold in applying the remedy. Administrative purity can be brought about if only persons of unimpeachable character and integrity, having unshakable faith in Gandhian principles, are appointed to posts of power. Mere changing of the Congress Constitution will serve no purpose. There must be an honest and sincere effort to select persons with devotion to Gandhian ideals for responsible key positions. Perhaps more severe blows are necessary to the present-day Congress in order that the best in human nature may come out. If the shocks in the shape of the reverses suffered by the Congress in the recent elections are not enough, more terrible shocks are in store. But we need not be in doubt about the ultimate survival of Gandhian ideals.

N. B. PARULEKAR

ACTIVITY WHICH UNITES

International crises and conflicts and racial warfare make the newspaper headlines, but it is good sometimes to take note of the unifying elements that, in however small a degree, continue steady, constructive work even at the focal centres of strife. The Society of Friends and the International Voluntary Service for Peace, to name two bodies, are so unobtrusively engaged. *Peace News* of August 2nd mentions eight projects planned for this year by the Southern Africa Work Camps Association, in which whites and Africans will work together, constructing schools, community centres, wells, and so on. Like its colleagues, the S.A.W.C.A. holds that "people working together, living together and sharing common problems are given an opportunity to learn something of the unity which links all men." In Israel, Arabs and Jews have worked together with other nationalities. International Voluntary Work Camps are encouraged by the Youth Section of Unesco's Department of Education. Such a camp is planned for Cyprus. Others are working in Algeria and Port Said, while the new sovereign countries, Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia and the Sudan, have all taken up the idea.

GILBERT MURRAY

[Professor Gilbert Murray, world-known intellectual and humanitarian leader, who passed away at his home in Boar's Hill, Oxford, on May 20th, and has been cremated and had his ashes buried in Westminster Abbey, is here paid deservedly high tribute by **Mr. Derek Stanford,** whose recent publications include *The Letters of John Henry Newman* and *Fenelon's Letters to Men and Women*. Professor Murray's verse translations of classical Greek dramatists helped bridge the gulf between the modern man outside the pale of classical education and the culture in which much of Western intellectual life is rooted. And his long service as President of the League of Nations' International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation brought nearer the "active reconciliation" which he recognized as necessary for the nations to live at peace. He lived, served the world and died "a reverent agnostic." The world needs to bear in mind his reminder in *From the League to the U.N.*, published in 1948, that it is

no good pretending that economics are the whole of life. Beyond all the class of creeds and the illusions of mass egoism, there is in most good men...some sense of values, of obligations, of things of beauty, which are somehow beyond question and which, at whatever cost of endurance, humanity must not betray.

—ED.]

On May 20th Gilbert George Aimé Murray died at Boar's Hill, Oxford, aged ninety-one. A great Hellenist, a great humanist, and an indefatigable worker for peace, this holder of the Order of Merit combined the preciser claims of scholarship with the broader obligations to mankind in general. Nineteenth-century liberalism was fed by three streams of thought: by Evangelical Christianity, by Utilitarian ethics and economics, and by Classical Græco-Roman culture. Dr. Murray's liberalism derived from the third source. Active in so many contemporary affairs, he was essentially a nineteenth-century liberal, not in the mode and direction of his thought, but in his high principles and moral idealism.

A few of the offices held by him indicate his two cardinal concerns. From 1908–36, he was Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. From 1923–38, he was Chairman of the League of Nations Union; and from 1928–40, he was President of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. To some, then, Dr. Murray was known as a researcher into Greek culture; to some, as a singularly popular translator of the Greek dramatists; and to others, as a practical planner of peaceful policy between the nations. But these three activities were in fact united, and derived from his passion for civilization, which the study of Greek first opened to him. What, for many savants, has begun and ended as a philological passion—a somewhat confined cult of the letter—became, for Gilbert Murray, a fountainhead of culture; a source of courage, sanity and wisdom.

Viewing the classics, in the words of Scott Holland, as a record of "dead heroisms," he was led to promote their spirit and lesson in terms applicable to the present day. Thus history, which others may regard as a knowledge of the dates of battles, pacts and kings, was for him something richer, more alive and philosophic. It was, as Lord Acton put it, "a continuous development, not a burden on the memory but an illumination of the soul."

Dr. Murray's view of politics and culture was not that of the specialist, a point he illustrates in his *Greek Studies* (1946) by the following anecdote:—

Two members of the House of Commons were once discussing why it was that Mr. Gladstone, when compared with such highly able and industrious colleagues as Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, seemed to tower above them by a sort of "greatness" of mind and character. "One thing is," said one of them, "that Mr. Gladstone spends his spare time reading Homer and Plato and Dante and the Bible, whereas Dilke and Chamberlain mostly read bluebooks."

Now Dr. Murray readily conceded that the Plato-reading statesman today may appear rather the amateur when set beside the politician who considers himself "a solicitor of the nation" (whose function is to attend to his "clients' interests, not to indulge in unselfishness on their behalf or to secure them a reward in heaven"). None the less, Dr. Murray believed that civilization and its amenities are best preserved by those who have learnt to bridge the gap between statistics and the ancient classics—the different disciplines of the bluebook and of Homer. Certainly the element of Hellenic thought colouring his discussion of peace is responsible for no untempered idealism. The student of *hubris* or calamitous pride, revealed in the great Greek tragedies, knows that man is prone to evils not to be sentimentally dismissed. But this does not mean that a cynical theory of raw opportunism (or *realpolitik* as the Germans once called it) is any more justified than a programme of naïve utopianism. Between these two conflicting extremes, Dr. Murray sought out a third way: one of idealism founded on fact.

As might be expected from a Grecian, Dr. Murray's pacifism was of a qualified order. His theory of peace is set forth in the first chapter of his book *The Ordeal of This Generation* (1929). He begins by repudiating the idea of it as "a negative thing, a mere respite from action and feeling." Peace, he tells us, drawing upon Aristotle's definition of happiness, is "unimpeded activity"—the condition in which man can most satisfactorily answer, without interference, the call of the "good life." This dynamic notion of peace finds a place within it for strife and competition, but the strife which it considers permissible and natural is

not the politicized violence of war, which Dr. Murray humorously describes as

> one particular development of the principle of strife, just as Bluebeard's household was one particular development of the principle of marriage.

He continues:—

> War is not an instinct, it is a form of state action. It is not an element in human nature, it is part of a political programme.

One of the objections to a hypothetical condition of uninterrupted peace is that it would cause mankind to stagnate as a pond whose waters are long unstirred. Dr. Murray replied to this by distinguishing between idleness and leisure. The former he sees as negative, as time expended but unfulfilled; the latter as positive, as time freely used for self-development. The first he considers as a peculiarly barbarian state of duration; the second (which he says was "invented by the Greek") as indispensably bound up with the growth of the individual mind. Regarding the opinion that looks to war as a school of character, Dr. Murray's retort is trenchant. He remarks:—

> It is like looking to famines and pestilences to secure the improvement of public health and keep the industry of doctors up to standard. It is like wishing businessmen to have rascally partners and bankrupt creditors, in order to secure their impeccable uprightness and fortitude in paying their debts, and thus promoting the ultimate prosperity of the country.

If we subject Dr. Murray's campaign for peace to a searching criticism, we may perhaps consider that, on the theoretical side, it has been based too solely on concepts drawn from Græco-Roman culture; and that the virtues of other civilizations —Oriental and Islamic, for example —have not sufficiently been co-opted. The world we know now, so politically divided, is united by transport to a degree which the European humanist even between the last two wars could hardly have anticipated.

While most of us have heard of Walter Pater's statement that all art aspires to the condition of music, a notion we may not have entertained is that all harmonious creations of man, from literature and philosophy to law and civic planning, derive from the Greek idea of "music," or measure or proportion, as we may term it. To find, then, on this assumption an ardent international policy-constructor figuring as a servant of the Muses is what our logic would lead us to expect; and in just such double reins has Dr. Murray's imagination run. When the volumes of other poets were selling in their scanty tens and hundreds, his translations of the Greek dramatists were being purchased in their tens of thousands. It is true that the young Mr. Eliot devoted some of his more opinionated sallies to these renditions, but even that could not confound their popularity, and in many schools where no Greek is taught they are often included in the English "set reading."

It is not the place here to renew these old wars, but those who seek to revisit the field may turn to Mr. Eliot's essay *Euripides and Professor Murray* (1918). Two points, however, may be remarked upon. First, that it is odd to have Mr. Eliot attacking Dr. Murray for falsely rendering the original Greek when the chief poet in his own camp to have attempted similar tasks, namely Mr. Pound, is such a notorious mistranslator. At least we can be sure that Dr. Murray knew the meaning of the Greek, whereas with Mr. Pound this assurance cannot be granted; and, secondly, that Mr. Eliot is incorrect in describing Dr. Murray's Greek verse-translation as "insignificant" Pre-Raphælite writing. The poetic convention of the "Æsthetic School" left no room for the comic element—a talent quite demonstrably possessed by Dr. Murray as his versions of Aristophanes make plain. In verse, his chief gift was that of lyricism; in prose, that of easy natural clearness. In the translation of his choruses from the Greek drama it was more the buoyant melody of Shelley than the slower-moving music of Rossetti and his group which influenced Dr. Murray.

Spirit, Spirit, lift the shaken
Splendour of thy tossing torches!
All the meadow flashes, scorches:
Up, Iacchus, and awaken!
Come, thou star that bringest light
To the darkness of our rite,
Till thine old men leap as young men,
leap with every thought forsaken.

There was a hardihood about Dr. Murray which many deep thinkers are inclined to lose. A long look at the worst neither daunted nor sapped his energy. Thus, he was able to write that the "physical world is not only non-moral, it is more alien from man than the human mind can conceive," yet add the following all-important rider:—

> ...in my opinion, whatever bearing [such] arguments may have on a transcendental theory of ethics they do not touch a human theory. If sin has no effect on the solar system, neither has prussic acid; but it remains poisonous.

It was this characteristic of brave common sense which enabled him to face the future without an intellectual loss of nerve. "Of course all is in danger," he admitted in his series of broadcast lectures *Hellenism and the Modern World* (1953). "But I see no reason to doubt that our Christian or Hellenic civilization is on the right road: certainly no reason to lower our traditional standards or abate our old courage."

DEREK STANFORD

BUILDING THE NEW INDIA

[The first and second articles in this series on the fashioning of the new India were entitled, respectively, "Towards Ameliorating the Condition of the Poor" and "The Democratic Approach." Here **"A Student of Theosophy"** considers some of the aspects of the vast problem of transforming the country's educational system. India's literacy figure is still deplorably low. In the 1951 Census, even excluding children below ten years, only one in every five was literate. The figure for men was 24.9 and that for women 7.9 per cent. The Constitution laid down as a directive principle the endeavour by the State to provide within ten years free and compulsory primary education for all below the age of fourteen years. Endeavour there has been, but even the quantitative goal is still far off.

Education, however, is more than imparting of literacy or the development of skills. The developing of character and idealism, referred to by our contributor in the opening sentence of this article, is not only fundamental to an adequate system of education but also vital to the nation and to its potential contribution to the world. India has always had that "habitual vision of greatness" which Whitehead pronounced indispensable to moral education. She must keep that vision and educate her sons and daughters of every race and creed in tolerance and universal sympathy, responsibility and freedom.—ED.]

III.—NEW MINDS FOR NEW TASKS

Realizing that, unless the younger generation develops the necessary ability, character and idealism, all the schemes prepared for the progress of the country will remain only paper projects, the national planners devised as one of the main schemes the development of a co-ordinated, integrated system of education. The importance of developing the country's water resources, agricultural potential and industrial capacity is recognized by the planners, but they have also borne in mind that there must be a right proportion between physical growth and mental development. In fact, increasing markedly the national income and achieving rapid industrial development will not be possible without the spread of education at all levels. Material improvement must ultimately depend on the mental growth of the people.

Since political independence was achieved in August 1947, measures have been taken for reform and reorganization in all fields of national life, perhaps most of all in the field of education. Adequate steps were taken to ensure that the deficiencies in the prevailing system of education were overcome and that the system was strengthened to meet national needs. But how could reform or reconstruction of national education be undertaken without careful examination of the existing situation? This need was recog-

nized; a series of conferences and seminars was held and commissions and committees were appointed to consider individual problems.

Changes and innovations steadily introduced have in effect meant the complete reorientation of education in the country. It is a silent revolution which has taken place, in which the students themselves have participated to carry forward the tasks envisaged in the Plan. The pattern of life in the country has been changing and it has become essential for the student community and the younger generation to equip themselves to fit into this pattern rather than to think in terms of traditional jobs in Government, banks or firms. In extension work, in the spread of the co-operative movement, in the organization and management of small industries, in transport and in the many new undertakings to be started by the Government, a large number of skilled and semi-skilled technicians, supervisors and managers is required and many of the younger generation have gradually reoriented their studies to fit themselves for the new tasks.

It is interesting to note the various stages by which the change has been effected. Obviously any educational reform must begin with the reconstruction of elementary education. Here the Government of India was fortunate in having a fairly complete pattern, due to the work already initiated by Mahatma Gandhi under the new name: Basic Education. According to him,

> true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, *e.g.*, hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose, etc. In other words, an intelligent use of bodily organs in a child provides the best and quickest way of developing his intellect. But unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a poor, lop-sided affair. By spiritual training I mean education of the heart. A proper and all-round development of the mind, therefore, can take place only when it proceeds *pari passu* with the education of the physical and spiritual faculties of the child. They constitute an indivisible whole. According to this theory, therefore, it would be a gross fallacy to suppose that they can be developed piecemeal or independently of one another.

With the coming into power of the National Government in 1947, the adaptation of the Gandhian scheme as far as possible to the existing circumstances could be attempted.

The transformation of the primary school to conform to the basic pattern of education at the elementary stage would in itself mark a revolution in national education. A great transformation is, however, also being attempted at the secondary stage, in the past a weak link in national education. When India was under foreign domination, secondary education was regarded as

merely a preparation for higher education, whereas it is secondary education which should provide the training for national service in almost all except certain professional fields for which university degrees are considered necessary.

The unhappy result of the previous system was that secondary education, which should be general, became specialized and far too exclusively academic. This weakness of secondary education naturally affected also education at higher levels. To correct this state of affairs a Secondary Education Commission was appointed, which made far-reaching recommendations. Steps have already been initiated to give effect to some of its recommendations. As a result, multi-purpose schools have been widely established and their number is steadily increasing. The traditional schools are also being strengthened by the introduction of science and craft courses. The transformation cannot be effected rapidly, but the steps proposed to implement the reorganization are outlined in the Plan thus :—

Programmes in the second five-year plan require for their implementation large numbers of skilled workers, technicians and specialists with a background of elementary or secondary education followed by basic training for specific vocations. Thus, the requirements of teachers, workers in national extension and community projects areas, co-operative personnel, revenue administration, technical and supervisory personnel in industry, agriculture and other fields of development have to be met mainly from the age group 14–17 years. In this group there is at present a great deal of wastage, and misdirection, as may be seen from the fact that 50 per cent or more of students who take matriculation or equivalent examinations fail to qualify. It is common ground that, at the secondary stage of education, there should be increasing diversification of courses, so that students can be trained in different vocations according to their interests and capabilities. This object is proposed to be attained through the introduction of craft courses, better facilities for science teaching, establishment of multi-purpose schools. Junior technical schools will provide three-year courses in technical and vocational subjects to be taken by students after completing their middle (or senior basic) education.

Comparable steps have also been taken for the reform and improvement of university education. The implementation of the recommendations of the University Commission will bring about a welcome change in the standard and atmosphere of the universities. The national Government has already established a University Grants Commission to reduce wastage and to improve the quality of university and college education.

In a vast country with many regional differences such as India, served by over 30 universities, 1,400 colleges, 12,000 high schools and two lakhs of elementary schools, the introduction of radical changes must necessarily take time. The

reforms initiated in India can be expected to yield their full desired effects only when matured.

It is in the field of technical education, however, that perhaps the most striking progress has been made. The facilities for engineering education have been considerably expanded. As against 1,650 engineering graduates in 1950, there were in 1955 about 3,600. In the same period the out-turn of diploma-holders rose from 1,864 to 4,900. The corresponding figures of technological out-turn showed smaller but appreciable increase. Many new departments of engineering and technology have been opened and post-graduate instruction at the higest level is now available within the country.

A committee set up by the Planning Commission considered that even with the expansion of facilities for teaching engineering proposed in the Second Plan, further training facilities would be needed for nearly 1,700 additional engineering graduates for service in civil, mechanical, electrical, tele-communication, metallurgical and mining engineering, besides nearly 5,800 diploma-holders in the first three of these fields. Otherwise a shortage was anticipated in the later years of the Second Plan and in the Third. It therefore recommended that the capacity of existing institutions should be increased by 20 per cent in graduate training and by 25 per cent for the training of diploma-holders. Also 15 more engineering colleges and 62 more engineering schools in different parts of the country were recommended.

The discovery and training of leaders being an important concern of the planners, their approach has been a positive one, taking into account urban and rural requirements alike. The personnel to man the country's growing number of machines can be supplied by the technological institutions, but finding the men to lead the rural communities is more a human problem. It is expected to be met to a great extent by the Community Development and National Extension schemes.

The main contribution of the Community Development Programme during the past three years has been not so much the physical improvements brought about as the change in outlook effected among both the officials and the people. An under-developed economy with large resources in manpower which are not being fully utilized has to turn these to account for creating permanent assets. This aim is best achieved when each citizen feels the obligagation to give a portion of his time and energy to works of benefit to the community to which he belongs. This is the method of democratic co-operative growth. One of the central aims of the Community Development Programme is

to canalize effectively the willing participation of the people, particularly in rural areas, in undertakings for the benefit of all. This voluntary co-operation has been given in a number of ways, as in the construction of local works, *i.e.*, village roads, tanks and drains, the maintenance of existing minor irrigation works, etc. The Second Five-Year Plan provides larger opportunities for such co-operative action.

Any one having the capacity to organize collective effort has the chance of assuming the leadership of the group in the village. Even the traditional leader in the village, if he can adapt himself to the democratic set-up, is not passed over on the ground of family or past political associations. Persons so selected are put through informal situation-tests and are graded as political leaders of the community on the score of their achievements in the field. A progressive outlook, enthusiasm and willingness to work for the collective benefit are important qualities looked for in persons for this work. Equally important are a reputation for honesty, impartiality and the capacity to get things done.

A STUDENT OF THEOSOPHY

(*To be concluded*)

BARAKA

John Hamilton, in the *Hibbert Journal* for July, introduces the Arabic word *baraka*, which merits inclusion in every language. To its dictionary meaning of "blessing, happiness, abundance, fertility," he adds the significant terms "virtue" and "grace." The virtue emanated by Jesus and other great healers is *baraka*; its contrary is the "evil eye." *Baraka* is found in varying degrees in natural and also in mechanical things —the responsiveness of a horse or a ship to its master. The associative power of a symbol, such as a flag, is its *baraka*. A house possesses more potentialities as a home than a flat—it has more *baraka*. Artificial fertilizers indicate farming "conducted without proper care and feeling for the soul,"—they have no *baraka*. Mr. Hamilton concludes that *baraka* is not so much an inherent quality as something which is dependent on the relationship between man and the things he uses, or which may lie in the heart and eye of man.

Our civilization lacks *baraka*, because it has made improvements in material things before being taught to desire the right kind of things. Nevertheless some people have innate *baraka*, and others can acquire it through creating a relationship of love and affection. For it is a two-way process. Things with *baraka* inspire love. Things loved acquire *baraka*.

Mesmer, Paracelsus, H. P. Blavatsky and others have dealt with certain scientific aspects of affinities, but here in this concept of *baraka* is something that even the humblest can sense, and a term that has not yet been degraded into a meaningless formula. It is worthy of use.

THE NEED FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

[**Mr. Reginald Reynolds,** former earnest champion of India's freedom and the friend of Gandhiji, draws pertinent attention here to the propaganda evil, with its dangerous use of innuendo and suggestion. The common attitude to interested propaganda is more lenient than it merits. To be sure, the danger of slanted reporting of news is condemned by public opinion and the better section of the press. But there is a too easy tolerance of misleading advertising and other efforts to influence men's minds and acts for the propagandists' benefit or that of their party or group.

Falsehood in war time is notorious; but peace time is not free from insincerity in propaganda which, undermining mutual trust, gnaws at the roots of society; and from assaults, in the name of political interests or the profit motive, on self-determination and the free will of man. The growing and increasingly successful pressure to conformity is a major danger of our times. The termitary is an uninviting destination for thinking men with the power and obligation of free choice, but the trend in many countries is disconcertingly in that direction.—ED.]

When I was in America, in the summer of 1956, I met Dr. Clyde Miller, formerly Director of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis. The Institute came to an end because Dr. Miller refused to slant his analysis during the war to suit the purposes of those who had money. One of Miller's most fatal utterances, according to his own account, was a public statement on the proposal of the American Government to support Britain by sending her "lease-lend" destroyers. Dr. Miller's comment that "until England really demonstrated democracy in India I wouldn't give her a rowboat" cost the Institute the support of its wealthiest backer.

Dr. Miller's writings, however, are still available; and what I have to say here is, in the main, an adaptation of the classifications which he used in *The Process of Persuasion* (Crown Publishers, New York, 1946). In some instances I have tried to develop Dr. Miller's ideas further and I have found many new examples to fit his categories of dishonest propaganda methods. In this survey I can only briefly indicate the system of classification with a few selected examples.

One of the first games I remember playing, as a child, was Snakes and Ladders. Each player moves his own counter according to the fall of dice, but the board on which the counters move has, at irregular intervals, pictures of vice and virtue. Should your counter land on a picture showing a boy giving a coin to a blind beggar, this virtuous action sends you by a short cut straight up the board, much nearer to your destination—the winning number. This transition is symbolized by a ladder. Should you,

on the other hand, land on a square where a boy is *stealing* a coin *from* a blind beggar, you slide down a snake and have a long way to go in order to catch up with your competitors.

For the education of the young I propose to construct a new type of board in which the "snake" squares and the "ladder" squares will be identical. For example, there will be a picture of a man addressing a large open-air meeting. There will be a ladder leading upwards from this square and a snake leading downwards. The player who reaches this square must throw a second time. An even number means that he is reading the *Daily Blurb,* in which case he has fallen among "Agitators" and goes down the snake. But an odd number means that he is among "Stalwart Champions" of something or other, which shoots him straight up the ladder, for this is the description in the *Daily Gush.*

To make things even more difficult there are several squares with the same picture and the even numbers (*Daily Blurb*) sometimes mean "Stalwart Champions," while the odd numbers (*Daily Gush*) will in that case indicate "Agitators." Further examples of pictures and their meanings can easily be multiplied. For example:—

(1) *People fighting against a foreign occupying force.* Ladder word: "Patriots." Snake word: "Terrorists."

(2) *Some of these people trapped and engaged in a hopeless battle.* Ladder word: "Heroes." Snake word: "Fanatics."

Once more we shall see that the *Daily Blurb* and the *Daily Gush* frequently change sides. In the case of Hungary, for example, the *Daily Blurb* might say "Patriots," while the *Daily Gush* says "Terrorists." On the other hand, in the case of Cyprus or Kenya the *Daily Gush* uses the ladder word while the *Daily Blurb* uses a snake word. This is very confusing, but real life is even more so. In real life these two papers may, perhaps, be found in agreement—say, in the word they used for the French *maquis* fighting against the German Army of Occupation. But even there we can be sure that the German equivalent journals used the opposite word.

Words such as "loyal" and "disloyal" may be used by different groups to describe the same people or actions. What one person calls "subversive" or "seditious" will be described by another as "the only honourable course." These snake words (or "poison labels," as Clyde Miller calls them) and their equivalent ladder words ("rosy glow words," in Miller's classification) are generally used to draw the attention of the reader or the listener away from the facts and to prejudice his mind for or against something or someone. The idea is to establish a conditioned reflex and then to exploit it in such a way as to by-pass the brain. The process

has no more to do with reason than the experiments once made at Edinburgh with long-playing gramophone records to determine their effect on the milk yield of cows.

From Snakes and Ladders it is easy to turn one's mind to Sea Serpents and Bishops. According to the *Manchester Guardian* (May 14th, 1957) the Bishop of Aarhus, in Denmark, recently called for an investigation of the legend of the Loch Ness Monster, which so many people claim to have seen. This is of great interest, because of the long connection between Bishops and Sea Serpents. It is an easily verifiable fact that, on a large number of historical occasions when sea serpents are said to have been sighted from vessels, a Bishop has been on board to give his valuable testimony. My friend Mr. Jonathan Curling, the first person to draw attention to this fact in public (in a radio talk), was unable to say whether the sea serpents attracted the Bishops or *vice versa*. All we know is that if you want to give credit to a story about a sea serpent you cannot do much better, in Europe, than produce a Bishop as witness—though it is true that, in modern times, an eminent scientist enjoys episcopal (if not, perhaps, papal) status.

So if I want to have people believe in my nautical stories I must take a Bishop with me when I go sailing. And, by and large, this principle applies to most things. It is the Testimonial Device, as Miller calls it. Of course a testimonial may be a perfectly sound one, but some are dubious. In the papers and on the films I often meet a man who is supposed to be a doctor. I can tell that because he is negligently carrying a stethoscope and probably wagging it in my direction. And in what is meant to sound like the language of an experienced general practitioner he is telling me to take some proprietary drug or food for my health. The whole weight of medical opinion appears to lie behind his words, just as the authority of the Church supports the words of the Bishop.

But what do I really *know* about this man? First, that he is *not* a doctor. If he were, he would be struck off the Register for lending himself to advertising. I know also, in fact, that he is a film extra or professional model for an advertiser's studio. He is earning a few guineas for playing this part and does not really mind what he advertises so long as he is paid—at least I have yet to hear of such people having scruples of conscience in these matters. He is probably quite ignorant, anyway, and knows no more than I do about the matter on which he is supposed to be the "authority." I once knew such a man who used to be photographed, grinning, to show the maximum number of teeth, advertising a well-known brand of toothpaste. The fact is that he did not use that toothpaste. The disconcerting truth

is that, to my certain knowledge, he never cleaned his teeth at all.

So far our dubious testimonials are provided by anonymous types, but let us look at those where names are given. Here is a photograph of a film star or a well-known "society" lady. She is assuring us that she always uses somebody's face cream, to which she owes her beautiful complexion. But what do we know? Do we know what she was paid for this service? Do we really know that she uses it or had even *heard* of it till the advertisement agents made their offer? Some years ago the same photograph of the same "society" lady appeared in two different papers on the same day, advertising two rival products. A little mistake had been made.

But the testimonial device can be used, in all spheres of life, to by-pass the brain and make its direct appeal to the spinal cord. In politics the God testimonial can be used effectively. In 1956 twenty-one American Negroes were charged with "operating an illegal car pool." That is to say, they had organized a fleet of private cars (not for hire but for free use) in order to enable the Negroes of Tallahassee, Florida, to boycott buses in which Negroes were segregated and ill-treated. On October 20th Judge John Rudd (a White judge appointed by the White citizens on a political ticket) gave his decision. He said—according to the *New York Times* of October 21st—"I have never called for divine guidance so much so often." Then he fined each man 500 dollars and gave them all sixty days' suspended jail sentences. The Negroes, I need hardly say, had also sought divine guidance, but had been quite differently guided. They were, however, unable, even if willing, to force their decisions on others, in spite of any testimonials they could have produced from the same source. As a poet put it in the First World War:—

> God heard the embattled nations sing and shout:
> "Gott straffe England" and "God save the King"
> God this, God that and God the other thing.
> God heard the embattled nations sing and shout—
> "Good God," said God, "I've got my work cut out."

Consider another picture familiar in Britain (and surely, with variations, elsewhere?) in many forms and for many purposes. A familiar scene is recalled, in England perhaps the village, with its old church tower. On a bench a man is enjoying the evening sunshine. But what is he doing? You may be sure he is drinking a particular brand of beer or smoking a certain brand of tobacco. Dr. Miller calls this the Transfer Device. Subtler than the Testimonial Device, it takes pleasant associations and transfers them to the product it aims to promote. You cannot drink or smoke the scene portrayed, but its nostalgic suggestions—perhaps connected with early youth or a happy holiday—are now

associated in your mind with something else.

Such transfers are most commonly made by crude sex appeal. One moment you are supposed to admire a beautiful girl, who wears less and less as the years pass. The next moment your attention is gently deflected to a patent medicine. This device can be used effectively without any pictures at all, by the mere juxtaposition of words. A famous example is to be found in Cobbett's *English Grammar*. Much as I admire Cobbett, I am compelled to admit that he used methods, on occasion, which were distinctly mischievous. Thus, in his section on "Nouns of Number or Multitude," he gives as examples: "Mob, Parliament, Rabble, House of Commons, Regiment, Court of King's Bench, Den of Thieves and the like." Here the mere interlarding of the names of institutions which Cobbett disliked with "snake words" (mob, rabble and den of thieves) creates an impression as clearly as though Cobbett had applied "snake words" directly to these institutions. Also the final phrase ("and the like") is deliberately ambiguous, since "the like" strictly means "all such grammatical constructions," but is also clearly intended to imply "all such unpleasant things," to put it mildly. Transfer has the advantage of being seldom actionable in law. Nothing libelous has, strictly speaking, been said, but an impression has nevertheless been created. A "ladder" transfer is achieved in such phrases as "God and the King," which does not state, but implies, that the service of the two must, of necessity, be identical. If children use such a phrase sufficiently often they may well grow up with a complete inability to distinguish between two quite different conceptions of loyalty.

Lack of space prevents me from amplifying or extending this survey much further, but there is one device, peculiar to the present century and perhaps to the Western world. When I was young there was a statesman who was regularly photographed smoking his pipe and contemplating his pigs. The pipe and the pigs identified him with the Common Man. Earlier generations of statesmen would not have considered this an asset. The changing attitude to royalty is a good index of what has happened. Kings at one time were represented as hardly human; they were divine, or at least divinely ordained and inspired. With the growth of democracy all this has changed. Kings and Queens, we are daily assured, are just like ourselves. The older conception had the disadvantage that it was obviously untrue. The modern one has the disadvantage that it appears to destroy the basis of monarchy. But we are not examining a rational approach. The truth is that one peculiar effect of democracy has been to substitute one unreasonable concept for another. We want

everyone to be like everybody else. An obvious exploitation of this fact in propaganda is the use of election posters which merely say "Vote for Smith," possibly accompanied by a photograph of Smith, which is not an argument and often (one might imagine) not an æsthetic asset either. You do not tell the elector *why* he should vote for Smith. You merely hope that if enough houses in a street show the "Vote for Smith" poster, the elector who is in doubt will conclude that everybody, or most people, will be voting for this candidate. Then—so the plan goes—the doubter will do the same so as to be like the others. This particular manifestation of "Common Man" pleading has been called the "Band Wagon Device" by Dr. Miller.

If this article excites interest I shall be happy to explore further devices used and even to suggest some ways of inducing people to use their brains instead of their spinal cords in determining their actions and opinions. I do not suggest that all advertisements are dishonest or that all political propaganda is always twisted. As Dr. Miller would say, "what I have written is also propaganda." And the reader can apply my rules, Dr. Miller's rules or any other rules he considers valid, to determine whether, in trying to prove my points, I have been honest or otherwise. I could ask nothing more to my liking.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

A DISEASE OF OUR AGE

It is interesting to note the change in key of our "philanthrophy" from that of the last century. Then it was soup kitchens and clothing for the poor, premiums for poor apprentices, and a measure of adult education, in a separate compartment, so to say. Now the psychological aspect is either combined with the material, or even replaces it in importance. This has happened in the West with many of the voluntary welfare societies and charities. Their material work has been largely superseded by the activities of the Welfare State in many countries, and their endeavours now tend to turn towards building up more personal contacts, better psychological relations. They take over where State Aid ends. Felicia Lamb wrote in the *Daily Telegraph* (London) of July 20th:—

> Nobody starves in England today—but it is recognized that it is almost worse for a cripple to be useless than to be starved, or that an old person may feel her loneliness more than her poverty.

She went on to say that mental health could be called the "fashionable" charity of the moment. The National Council of Social Service, London, has just published a Report on *Loneliness: An Enquiry into Causes and Possible Remedies,* based on a two-year study by a group representing a number of women's organizations. Loneliness is part of the wide-spread *malaise,* and it is obvious that what is needed now is schooling for the soul instead of the intellectual process that goes by the name of education. One step of Buddha's Noble Eightfold Path is Right Loneliness.

THE PILGRIM OF ETERNITY

[In our June issue **"Pilgrim"** wrote on the subject of "Gratitude." In this essay are some pregnant ideas of value to the aspiring mind bound for the Land of Supreme Realization.—ED.]

"Every season of the eight abounds in fresh dainties!
Every night we rest in warm embrace.
How much better than to travel far in search of the Amitabha Buddha!"

"Places of pilgrimage are truly spiritual seminaries which, though completely closed to the idler and the superstitious, in selfish quest of personal holiness and personal salvation, are ever open to the earnest and devoted searcher after truth."

"The earth is so broad that all evil can exist on it,
The sky so high that even the hypocrite may walk beneath it.
Calmly and quietly must the way be taken along the road of Him Who has thus come—the *Tathagata*!—
Even to the Gate of the Blessed Land at the foot of the Peak of Vultures.

The Buddha is seated on the Peak of Vultures;
Then seek Him not in far distant lands.
On the height of man's true heart,
In each man is his own Peak of Vultures;
And it is his true place of worship."

Many are the sacred shrines in India and elsewhere, to which millions of pilgrims down the centuries have flocked. Though the custom of visiting such places is not so widely prevalent today as it once was, many still look upon sacred shrines as centres of spiritual force from which radiate elevating influences, and these consider it to be a religious duty to make such a pilgrimage at least once before death.

The institution of the pilgrimage is a religious reflection of a spiritual verity; the person going on a pilgrimage represents the Eternal Pilgrim, the Human Soul, bound for the Goal of Light, self-shining within the Shrine of the innermost consciousness of each human being. To symbolize this, and to inspire the simple-minded and clean-hearted humble folk to look beyond this world of ignorance and of false knowledge, the Wise Men of old established places of pilgrimage. They were founded in an epoch when spirituality was beginning to decline and the force of sacerdotalism was rising. According to the ancient tradition, to protect humanity against the descending cycles culminating in the Dark

Age, the newly built shrines were magnetized and suitable persons were posted at them to look after the shrines and to care for the spiritual needs of the pilgrims. It is asserted by some that at some of the famous places of pilgrimage there can still be found a holy person who, concealing his identity, is always ready to give spiritual insight and assistance to the deserving who go there.

About sacred shrines there is rife not only colossal ignorance but also great superstition. In this, as in other matters, the shadow is mistaken for the substance and outer formalism has usurped the place of spiritual reality. Today millions of pilgrims observe outer rites and derive little benefit therefrom. An excellent illustration of the futility of a mere formal pilgrimage is furnished by the story of an orthodox Muslim who had just returned from Mecca and who visited the saint Junaid to narrate his adventures. After a while Junaid asked his visitor:—

"From the hour you began journeying away from your home, have you been journeying away from your sins also?"

"No."

"Then you have made no journey."

"At every stage where you halted, had you advanced a stage towards God?"

"No."

"Then you have covered no stages."

"When you changed your ordinary clothing for pilgrim's garb, did you discard your vices and put on virtues?"

"No."

"Then you have not put on the pilgrim's garb."

"When you stood at Mount Arafat, did you stand in contemplation of God?"

"No."

"Then you have not stood at Arafat."

"When you went round the Kaaba, did you behold all aspects of the immaterial Spirit?"

"No."

"Then you have not gone round the Kaaba."

"When you ran between Safa and Marva, did you achieve purity (*Safa*) and considerateness (*Murawwat*)?"

"No."

"Then you have not done any real running."

"When you reached the place of sacrifice, did you sacrifice your worldly desires?"

"No."

"Then you have not made sacrifice."

"When you threw the pebbles, did you throw away whatever sensual ideas were in your mind?"

"No."

"Then you have not performed the pilgrimage."

The sincere seeker after Wisdom, using the key of analogy and correspondence, must look for the spiritual truths hidden behind the outer forms prescribed in the *shas-*

tras. To those who look deep enough the physical pilgrimage is but a reflection of the psychological pilgrimage; sacred cities, sacred shrines, sacred rivers, sacred hills, etc., are inner psycho-physiological centres to which the Pilgrim-Soul must go, and which correspond to the bodily journey to these places.

There is that in us which is the experiencer, the sufferer, the enjoyer, which learnt in the mineral, grew in the vegetable, moved in the animal, and which acts, feels, thinks, wills, in the human being. This is the Pilgrim-Soul, immortal and eternal. Not all have yet awakened to the fact that life is a pilgrimage. Many are those who journey through life concerned alone with physical supremacy; others look upon life as a sort of a contest of wits in which the sharpest carries off the prize; still others are mere sightseers, who move about leisurely in the pleasure-grounds of the senses, engrossed in enjoyments of the moment. There are only a few for whom life has become a conscious pilgrimage, not only from the cradle to the grave, but from the beginning to the end of a *Manvantara,* or period of evolution, embracing millions upon millions of years. Nations and civilizations rise, grow old, decline and disappear; but the Eternal Pilgrim lives on, spectator of all the innumerable changes of environment. Starting upon the long journey from his Spiritual Home, radiating like a spark from the Central Fire, he struggles through every form of life, gathers experience in all ages, ever engaged in a pilgrimage, on the long and weary path to the shrine from which he came.

The idea of the *Path* is one of the most graphic symbols that the mind of man is capable of conceiving. In it is contained the whole story of spiritual evolution. It is mentioned in all the mystic works. On it the Pilgrim-Soul journeys—from the Land of Shadows, Homeward, to the Mount of Light. This light towards which he journeys is within himself, not outside. But, though he is a Being of Light, that Light is obscured. The Light of his mind, the Light of Knowledge, is veiled; the Light of his heart, the Light of Compassion, is covered up. The Path of spiritual evolution, therefore, is an Inner Path which begins with oneself, as one is. Without moving, it is said, is the travelling on this Path. As one puts into practice those ideals and perceptions that one holds to be true, one *becomes* that Path.

The road wearily winding its way through the Vale of Darkness—the darkness of ignorance—and onward through the region of deceptive light and shade—the World of the Great Illusion, where the real is mistaken for the unreal and the unreal for the real—is steep and thorny, and beset with perils of every kind. The barriers and pitfalls that the Pilgrim has to en-

counter on his inevitable journey are to be found in his own inner psychic nature, in the desires, habits and tendencies of his personal self. The impure heart and the unclean mind obstruct his progress. Doubt, prejudice, suspicion, hatred, anxiety, regret, fear, lust, anger, covetousness, pride—these take shape and drag him down. Deadly foes they all are—self conceived, self-begotten, self-bred. Some there are who blame outer circumstances and conditions for their difficulties, who point the finger of accusation at others for blocking their road to happiness. But how can any external condition or event prevent a man from acting righteously, if that is his heart's desire? Progress on the Inner Path is measured by the degree to which each masters the passions of his lower self. True progress is for him who obeys the voice of his conscience, who lives up to the best that he knows.

It is not hard to grasp that selfishness and impurity and their brood must be done away with; but many a man stops short with recognizing this. He fails to see that he is still held back by qualities and attitudes of mind and heart, not evil in themselves but personal, and hence a hindrance to the Pilgrim-Soul's free course. All personal ties and interests, all hopes, fears, loves, hates and other personal feelings that seem to us part of ourselves, even "self-identifying attachment for children, wife and household" (*Bhagavad-Gita*, XIII. 9), for race, community or nation, constitute an additional burden which weighs us down, unsuspected by ourselves, and must sooner or later be cast aside. The lighter the burden he carries, the easier and swifter will be the Pilgrim's journey; what is true on the physical plane is equally true on the moral one. Like the rich young man in the Gospels, we are unable to make progress because we have great possessions—physical, mental and psychic—and we cannot bear to let these go.

But even when the Pilgrim has stripped himself of all that seems to hold him back, let him not think that all will henceforth be smooth sailing! Many tests and trials have to be encountered, many temptations to be faced and resisted. In Greek mythology we read how Atalanta, strong and fleet, was outrun by Hippomenes, who lacked her swiftness but possessed deep guile. The golden apples that he rolled ahead she slowed her speed to snatch up as she ran, and thus she lost the race. Many are the wayfarers who stop for golden apples by the way! The lure of the world is something the Pilgrim must learn to resist.

Through loitering in the Vale of Darkness, the Pilgrim-Soul has been blinded to the purpose of his pilgrimage; he has become forgetful of the identity of all Mankind. Deluded and of vain hopes, he sets out, leaving his fellow Pilgrims to their

fate. Far and wide he travels, fancying himself to be getting nearer the Light ever shining on the Mount—that Light which no wind can extinguish, that Light which burns without a wick or fuel—whereas in reality he circles back time and again to his former dwelling-place in the Land of Shadows. This may go on for many incarnations.

In the fullness of time, through trial and error, the Pilgrim-Soul learns the lessons of Life. He learns to attune his being to Humanity's great pain; to attune his heart and mind to the great mind and heart of all Mankind. For thus and thus alone can the journey upward and homeward be made, and the Shrine of Light be reached. Then at last does the Pilgrim-Soul see his Divine mission and seek to fulfil it. Not for himself but for the world he lives. So living, with his soul-gaze centred on the one pure Light, he sacrifices the material to the spiritual, the changing to the Unchanging, the unreal to the Real. Through a series of progressive awakenings he completes his Cycle of Necessity, his obligatory Pilgrimage. He reaches the consummation of human life; and having reached it, he voluntarily stations himself on the Path, to point the Way to others, ever ready to extend a helping hand and to give a word of cheer to the suffering Pilgrim struggling through the Vale of Darkness or stranded in the deceptive Land of Shadows.

Travels the sorrow-gathering man from ambition to avarice, from cupidity to lust, from pleasant dreams to frightening nightmares, from attractions to aversions. Steeped in worldly sights the worldly traveller courts fatigue which ends in death.

Set out on a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Bliss, O man! Leave off thy sandals of separation, thou art to tread but the clean way of Truth. With fragrant flowers of pious deeds proceed to the Temple of Piety Supreme.

Fix thy gaze on the Cluster of Stars which shine over the Hill of Hope to which thou art bound. Look neither to left nor to right but straight ahead seeing only the Way before thee and the Starry Hill that thou art nearing.

PILGRIM

NEW BOOKS AND OLD

A History of the University of Bombay: 1857-1957. By S. R. DONGERKERY. (University of Bombay. 313 pp. 1957. Rs. 15.00)

As a student of the University for six years, as an official intimately connected with the administration of the University for over a quarter of a century and as one who has constructively examined the problems of University education in two of his previous books, Shri S. R. Dongerkery, Rector of the University of Bombay, is admirably equipped for writing its centenary history.

The book traces the founding, growth and progress of the University during the past one hundred years of its existence. Starting in 1857 as a purely affiliating and examining body with but four colleges in its jurisdiction on the model of the London University, it could count 13 colleges in 1887, 25 in 1924, 79 in 1947 and 83 in 1948 with a student roll of 42,272. Then came the transformation into a City University having 31 constituent colleges under the University Act of 1953. The rise between 1947 to 1950 of the regional Universities of Poona, Karnatak, Gujarat and the Maharaja Sayaji Rao University of Baroda inevitably forced this destiny upon the University of Bombay. The possibility of the emergence of Bombay as a City University was first dimly visualized by Justice E. T. Candy, Vice-Chancellor in 1902, and later in 1922, by Professor Patrick Geddes, who wrote that a University was "essentially a city thinking, and thus by turns educating and expressing its whole community in its cultural aspects."

The Indian Universities Act, 1904, passed by the Indian Legislature, the Bombay University Act, 1928, and the Bombay University Act, 1953, constitute the landmarks in the evolution of the University into its present form. The building up of the various University Departments of Economics, Sociology, Politics, Statistics and Chemical Technology, the early controversy on the merits of General Education as against Specialization, the subsequent changes in curricula, teaching and examinations; the battle of the languages over the claims and status of English, classical or European language, regional language and Hindi; the still provisionally solved question of the medium of instruction; the autonomy of the University in relation to Government; the University in relation to its colleges; and the problems affecting teachers and students in academic and corporate life have all been reviewed in adequate detail.

Chapter XIX contains brief word-sketches of Ranade, Telang, Bhandarkar, Pherozeshah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Chandavarkar, Chimanlal Setalvad, Wilson, Alexander Grant, Selby, Cowasjee Jehangir and Premchand Roychand, whose collective labours, munificence and vision have availed to shape the policy and framework of the University. In the concluding chapter the author gives a conspectus of the subject as a whole and indicates the lines on which the University can develop specific functions of its own in its new structure. An altogether well-planned and well-executed publication.

The get-up and printing of the book are excellent.

A. VENKAPPA SASTRI

The Indian Mutiny. A Centenary History. By RICHARD HILTON. (Hollis and Carter, London. 232 pp. 1957. 18*s.*)

No two countries that have fought against each other within the lifetime of people still living can be expected to have the same memories of how the conflict arose or to put the same interpretation on the manner in which it was conducted. With this obvious limitation, Major-General Hilton's brief account of the armed uprising against British rule just a hundred years ago, written primarily to fill out the "barest facts" of one of the "great stories" in Britain's national history which are given in the school syllabus of a younger generation, is a fair chronicle of those grim and tumultuous events that shook the British *raj* to its foundations.

The author was born in India and tells us that he "spent the happiest years of his life commanding Indian troops." He therefore brings to his story a real affection for India and Indians and writes with the "sincere intention" of being "absolutely fair to both sides." He writes:—

> There is nothing in the true record of the Mutiny that need cause *national* shame either to British or Indian. It is true that there were faults on both sides. It is true that there were atrocities on both sides, for unfortunately atrocities often breed reprisals. . . .It is a sad characteristic of human nature that, whenever a mob becomes excited, a mere handful of sadists can temporarily sway the passions of decent men and women, inspiring a wild frenzy which will stop at no bestiality. Many of us have seen this horror, even in civilized Europe in our enlightened twentieth century.

The intelligent young reader of today, living in a world where imperialism and the domination of one country by another is universally felt to be incompatible with true international understanding and national dignity, will ask himself what the British were doing in India a hundred years ago. The author is not concerned with this question, since he takes it for granted that Britain was pursuing a civilizing and beneficent mission. If some of her political and military representatives in India were inept, arrogant and even cruel in the discharge of their missionary responsibilities, this was regrettable but inevitable in view of the imperfections of human nature.

Once two nations are locked in a mortal struggle, as India and Britain were just one hundred years ago, the nobility of human action is judged by a double standard. A clever and daring stratagem which your own soldiers may undertake becomes a dishonourable and treacherous act of brutality when it is committed by the enemy. Punitive laws and edicts can be justified on the grounds of the enemy's alleged excesses. Comments the author:—

> The coming centenary, bound as it will be to revive thoughts of the great Anglo-Indian conflict, will provide an opportunity far too good for evil minds to neglect. Sinister influences are at work to spread hatred among white and coloured races. We must expect, therefore, to see some garbled versions of what, in reality, is an honourable tale.

SUNDER KABADI

The Analysis of Dreams. By MEDARD BOSS. Translated by ARNOLD J. POMERANS. (Rider and Co., Ltd., London. 223 pp. 1957. 25*s.*)

The Analysis of Dreams by Medard Boss, M.D., Professor of Psychotherapy at Zurich University, is partly a painstaking adverse criticism of Freud's theories and partly an exposition of some theories of the Zurich School, and others, that have sprung from Jung, leading to what is called "phenomenological interpretations" mixed with an Existentialist psychotherapy.

While apologizing for this jargon, the reviewer cannot avoid it in a very brief description of a book that is incidentally stimulating on a subject of endless argument, while giving the effect of being an unscientific muddle. It seems in keeping with the rest that in a Foreword the President of the British Psychologi-

cal Society remarks:—

> The *interpretation* of all dreams in Freud's over-simplified terms as symbolic expressions of repressed, sex-derived wishes is seen to be unacceptable to an analytical psycho-therapist of Professor Boss's approach.

Not only is it untrue that Freud interpreted all dreams in terms of sex instinct, but Professor Boss quotes Freud's convincing statements and himself admits "Freud had no difficulty in refuting the repeated misrepresentations of his conception of the dream. . . ." The author invites our approval when he objects that often, in interpreting latent dream thoughts by Freud's method, a manifest dream image "can apparently be reconstructed in any way that happens to suit the dream interpreter. . . ."

We can easily sympathize with the author in his emphasis on the possibility of much more than wish-fulfilment, and on a serious consideration of perception of truth in the dream, whether it seem to be a diagnosis of illness not yet recognized, or evidence of the possibility of extrasensory perception. But many of the comments on dreams seem to lack adequate evidence and to be quite as dogmatic as anything in Freud's revolutionary analysis. Inadequacy in the critical comment is particularly unfortunate where the author aims at stressing that waking and dreaming belong to a whole and cannot be divorced. One often feels in reading this book that many an Oriental philosopher would be astonished at its *naïveté*.

R. L. MEGROZ

A New Look at Marx. By PHILIP SPRATT. (A Background Book, Phoenix House, Ltd., London. 52 pp. 1957. 2*s*. 9*d*.)

The title of this book implies a change of outlook on somebody's part, and the biographical notes confirm it to be the author's. The gist of his argument is that although practically all Marx's doctrines are unsound, there are so many causes for grievance in the world that they have been able to attain wide popularity. Apart from their obvious appeal to workers, they offer the charitably-minded in the more privileged classes an exciting creed and recognizable enemies predestined to defeat. It is thus not reprehensible that the author should have formerly been a Communist—and it is a great encouragement to know that the individual mind *can* emerge from indoctrination. From specific indoctrination, that is.

Mr. Spratt writes clearly enough on the myth of Marxism, but the idea of inevitable progress through the class struggle is far from being the only heady "-ism" to have thrown the modern world into confusion. Indeed, some believe that if Admiral Jellicoe had not thrown away his chances in the Battle of Jutland in May 1916, Germany could have been beaten two years sooner, and the Russian revolution would never have happened. Possibly—but the point is that as long as man seeks to solve his problems in political terms, inglorious outbreaks of social diseases like Communism, Fascism and McCarthyism are always liable to occur at the first opportunity.

In human evolution the habit of thinking politically is a fairly recent development. The habit of fighting would seem to be more deeply rooted. Mr. Spratt rightly criticizes the absurd Marxist generalization that war is essentially "imperialist," though he possibly lets Big Business off too lightly. It would be asking too much from his short study of a specified phenomenon that it should pronounce the last words of wisdom on the potentialities of technology for good or evil, and to take "intelligent advantage" of Marxism's weaknesses is more easily said than done. Otherwise, this is a useful bit of demolition work.

ROY BRIDGER

A Source Book in Indian Philosophy. Edited by SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN and CHARLES A. MOORE. (Princeton University Press. 684 pp. 1957. $5.00)

This valuable collection of source material is mainly intended for Western readers, although it will be of great help also to Indian users unfamiliar with the original texts. Four main parts of the book deal consecutively with the Vedic period, the Epic period, the heterodox systems and the orthodox systems. The fifth and last part is brief, dealing with contemporary Indian thought, and is devoted to an exposition of the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo, and of Dr. Radhakrishnan, who is himself one of the editors of the volume and has contributed the bulk of the excellent sectional introductions. The other editor, Dr. Moore, is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Hawaii, and editor of *Philosophy East and West*. He worked with Dr. Radhakrishnan at Oxford, and also spent a year in India, studying and conferring with many leading thinkers. The book covers an extensive range, and includes translations of some basic material which cannot be found elsewhere in English. A special feature of the book is that the translations of the original texts of scholastic philosophy are often followed by translations of relevant portions from the commentaries.

Dr. Moore makes it clear in his Preface that selection inevitably means exclusion and that this volume is meant to encourage students to go to the original texts, and is not meant as a substitute for them. While admitting the difficulty of making adequate translations from Sanskrit and Pali, he puts forward an understanding plea for their right use. His own task he has discharged conscientiously and with competence.

The sections dealing with Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (epic period), and the selections drawn from Shankara, Ramanuja and Madhva relating to the Vedanta (orthodox systems) call for particular notice. As regards contemporary thinkers, Dr. Moore explains his choice of Sri Aurobindo and Dr. Radhakrishnan as representing the two "most important interpenetrational developments in Indian thought in the present day." He considers that their philosophies seek to bridge the gap between the East and the West, while aiming at a synthesis by different approaches—Sri Aurobindo by intuition and mystical insight, and Dr. Radhakrishnan by synthetic rationality and "enlightened intellect," his equivalent for intuition.

K. GURU DUTT

Jesus in Rome: A Historical Conjecture. By ROBERT GRAVES and JOSHUA PODRO. (Cassell and Company, Ltd., London. v+89 pp. 1957. 8*s.* 6*d.*)

It is odd what men will do with history. It seems to have an uncanny attraction for all sorts of minds for the purpose of reading into it all sorts of fantasies. The authors of this book try to prove that Jesus Christ survived physically his crucifixion, and turned up in Rome about twenty years after.

A typical piece of evidence they offer is a quotation from a letter of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, round about 70-105 A.D.:—

> That he [Jesus] is in the flesh ever since his resurrection, I both know and believe.
>
> And when he came to them that were with Peter, he said to them: "Take, handle me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon."
>
> And immediately they touched and believed.

The author's comment upon this is that Ignatius believed that Jesus was alive long after the crucifixion.

But the author of the Gospel of Luke uses much the same words, and there is not the slightest doubt that he believed Jesus to be dead.

> Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath

not flesh and bones, as ye see me have. (*Luke,* 24:39)

Jesus then eats a piece of "broiled fish" just to clinch the matter that, being a spirit, he was still a body. This was a commonplace belief with the early Christians.

In any case the earliest evidence to the event, that to be found in the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, is quite explicit. Three times in the first two chapters Paul declares that Christ was crucified, with all the implications of death. If this were not so it would make nonsense of all the Pauline theology. Paul hardly ever refers to the historic Christ at all, save in connection with the crucifixion and the belief that there was death and a resurrection.

If this is accepted as true then the whole thesis of the authors bears no relevance to historic fact.

Incidentally they say, "It is an accepted rule throughout the lay press in English-speaking countries that... all books on Christian subjects must be reviewed by orthodox critics." This critic is not orthodox.

E. G. LEE

The Gospel and the Religions: A Biblical Enquiry. By WALTER FREYTAG. (I.M.C. Research Pamphlets No. 5. Student Christian Movement Press, Ltd., London. 47 pp. 1957. 3*s.*)

If any reader wishes to know very briefly what neo-orthodoxy (the revival of orthodox Christian belief in Protestant Christianity) is teaching, this little pamphlet will tell him. The assumption made is that all religions—in spite of all differences, and these are important and generally in favour of Christianity—are very much the same in *religion.* There is not much in this respect to choose between them. But, lifted above every kind of religion, Christianity included, is the fact of the teaching of the New Testament, or rather the unquestioned and unquestionable affirmation of the New Testament. There is no analogy to this in the world; it cannot be compared with anything else (p. 37). It cannot be argued about. "It can only be pointed out; it can only be proclaimed" (p. 37). This affirmation is that there is only salvation through Jesus Christ. Not merely for humanity as a whole, but for every individual person, no matter where or in what culture, civilization or religion he is living.

It may be assumed that this is argued from an enclosed fanaticism that has no touch with anything outside its own compulsions. But this is not so. The pamphlet is generous and profound. It is full of passionate insight and is as critical of the Christian "religion" as of any other. It is this attitude which makes it the more alarming—and it is not confined to Christians. In order to probe and apply its own insight it ignores everything that can tell against it. It refuses—in this instance—any critical interpretation of the New Testament, assuming that it speaks with one voice: and it does not. And it attempts to live with the terrible theological conception that the God of Life loves only those, in the sense of ultimate salvation, who by the chance of history have been brought within the range of the Christian religion. That good and profound men should believe this is one of the major, inexplicable mysteries of the human spirit. But they do.

E. G. LEE

Realm of the Incas. By VICTOR W. VON HAGEN. (A Mentor Book. The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., New York. 231 pp. Illustrated. 1957. 50 cents.)

An explorer and writer of repute, Mr. Victor W. von Hagen knows his subject well, having spent a decade in ethno-geographical explorations of the Americas. In this, his latest, work he undertakes the formidable task of reconstructing the history of a people who had no form of writing at all. The *quipus,* their unique knot-string records, still exist, and could have proved a rich source of information to posterity, but the most imaginative research workers have not found the clue by which their mysteries could be unravelled, and they must now perforce be relegated to the category of curios.

At the outset, the author expresses the debt that the archæological historian owes to the old Spanish chroniclers whose reports, written within a few months of the conquest of 1532, have since been a fount of information for later scholars.

Pre-Inca cultures, dating back two thousand years, are outlined very briefly, for there is little data to go by. The Incas, by their "selective manipulation of history," deliberately sought to obliterate all traces of cultures anterior to their own.

In clear and concise terms, the author has presented a detailed and most engrossing account of this ancient civilization, and Anatole France's remark, "History is not a science, it is an art, and a man succeeds in it only by imagination," can, in its best sense, be applied to this very readable book.

ROSHAN KOTHAWALA

Bertrand Russell: The Passionate Sceptic. By ALAN WOOD. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 249 pp. Illustrated. 1957. 21*s*.)

Too many religious people are sceptics about sceptics. The title of Alan Wood's new study of Bertrand Russell, which is the only bad thing about it, echoes the uncharitable paradox that its subject has devoted a mind as infertile as an iceberg to the rationalization of immorality. That is, naturally, not what Mr. Wood has to say about the greatest living Western philosopher, who is now eighty-five years old. One wonders if his publishers chose the title for him?

In fact, as this book makes clear, Russell is both a warmly human and supremely witty personality, a man who has cheerfully endured persecution in the service of high principles of peace and public welfare. We might say of this Voltairean figure of our time, as the great French rationalist said of God, that if he did not exist it would be necessary to invent him; though to invent such a mind as Russell's would be beyond the capacity of even the latest thing in electronic brains.

Mr. Wood writes well about the man and his thought; and he has in preparation a comprehensive study of the development of Russell's humanist philosophy as well. Meanwhile, readers of THE ARYAN PATH may care to be reminded that Russell's monumental single-volume *History of Western Philosophy,* which first appeared ten years ago, when its brilliant author was nearly seventy-five, remains unequalled. It was reviewed in THE ARYAN PATH for June 1947, p. 269, by G. R. Malkani.

ROY WALKER

The Will and the Way: A Study of Divine Providence and Vocation. By HARRY BLAMIRES. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. xi+128 pp. 1957. 15*s*.)

About the turn of the nineteenth century the Evangelical Revival emerged as a reaction from the selfish complacency of Society and of the Church of England, tartly described by Leslie Stephen as the lickspittle of the ruling classes.

The men and women who were drawn to the Revival were pious and simple folk. They visited gaols, started Sunday schools, fought the slave trade. They were admirable. But they were not notable for scholarship or intellect.

The author of this slim book has much in common with those people of the Evangelical Movement. He is sincere, but his sincerity is marred by the emotional approach, and once at least —in his reference to the raising of Lazarus—he is guilty of improving upon the New Testament to make his point.

The book consists of sermons rather than of chapters; and they are such sermons as might have been delivered to earnest young men of the period of the Evangelical Revival contemplating Orders in either the Low Anglican Church or one or another of the nonconformist denominations.

It is a pity that the author writes so often in a way that suggests the "holier than thou" attitude. And this is the more surprising when one learns that he is not a minister or parson, but a teacher in a teachers' college, whose subject is English and not Theology.

As a theologian Mr. Blamires does not go very deep. He is not concerned with the tremendous issues raised by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. His theology belongs to the past, and few modern theologians would be likely to read his pages with patience.

What, then, gives this book a value? It is, perhaps, the sincerity of the author, his essential simplicity and unsophistication. One example of this must suffice. He is admonishing (and he is a great admonisher) those clerics who air their theology *via* the B.B.C., and comments how very distressing this must be for the parish parson, whose daily round he envisages as having been "spent with the impenitent sick, the hardened sinner, and the glib young rebel against the fullness of the faith."

I venture to assert that one would travel the length and breadth of the land without coming upon any such imaginary paragon. No, that really won't do at all!

This book will appeal to many pious souls, little exercised about the strength of the case for humanism as alternative to the surrender of the intellect by submission to supernaturalism.

GEORGE GODWIN

Bapu, a small book of conversations and correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi by F. Mary Barr, has just appeared in a second edition, with new material added and a tribute to the "Frontier Gandhi." This is a book well worth reading for it gives a very living picture of Gandhiji, a picture we should not allow to fade from our memories.

The material relates to the period from 1931 to 1946, touching upon village life, *ashram* life, life in prisons, fasts, travel, spinning, *Ahimsa, Satyagraha* and countless other problems and activities of those busy years.

Throughout shines the living example, the wisdom and love which was Gandhiji. Nothing was too small for his careful thought and attention; nothing so large that it could not be illuminated by his practical common sense, his serenity and humour.

E.P.T.

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF WORLD CULTURE

[This challenging paper from the pen of our esteemed contributor, **Dr. L. Delgado,** a British educationist and international banker, was read and discussed at a largely attended public meeting at the Indian Institute of World Culture on June 25th, 1957. The lively discussion was led by Shri M. A. Srinivasan, formerly Prime Minister of Gwalior, who had served also as a Minister of Mysore. The other participants in the discussion were Shri V. S. Natarajan and Shri J. M. Shrinagesh, both prominent industrialists, Shri P. R. Ramaiya, long the proprietor of a Bangalore daily paper, and Shri B. Vasudevamurthy, a Retired Judge of the Mysore High Court. The trend in our day is unmistakably towards the expansion of the State's role and the shrinkage of the individual's economic and political sphere. The points made by Dr. Delgado merit thoughtful and critical study and evaluation.—ED.]

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL
A CAUTIONARY TALE

Freedom is one of the greatest treasures of mankind, and one to which every man has an inalienable right. It is a matter of common observation that the first instinct of all living things is to preserve this freedom. By freedom we do not understand license to do exactly as one pleases, which is anarchy, but liberty of person, of action and of decent behaviour. No country whose citizens do not enjoy at the least the freedoms set out in the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations can be said to be free.

Yet we are all in danger of losing at least part of our essential liberties as our society becomes more complex, sometimes for valid and sometimes for specious reasons. Even in countries with parliamentary representation, the tasks before the legislature are so vast—often resulting in the further curtailment of our freedom—that members have time to deal only with a fraction of the measures before them. Much of the rest is dealt with by various permanent officials at the Ministries concerned, and these men may have minds and personalities below those necessary for the task. This is a danger that has been recognized in the United Kingdom, but the practical difficulty of finding an alternative method of legislating at the present high pressure makes it hard to find a remedy. It is thus an anomaly of our age that we are in danger of losing our liberty through the very agency created to defend it.

It will help us to understand the problem if we consider the evolution of society toward the concept of that civil power we call the State. There is nothing in this evolution to suggest, until recent times, that the State is anything more than an organism to act and to speak for its citizens collectively and to provide the conditions necessary for individuals to pursue their various callings.

Until man discovered how to cultivate grains, he did not become established at any one site. But, having done so, individuals found that they had certain rights that they wished to guard. For instance, land is not of equal fertility or equally accessible, so that there would be competition for the best tracts. There was also the question of organizing the labour available—to decide who was going to make all the boots, to build shelter or to dig the irrigation channels, and so on, and to uphold the conditions of the exchange of goods and services. In these new circumstances, authority to legislate and to rule had to be evolved,

and we have the beginnings of the State.

This kind of organization was current in the East much before it appeared in the West. There was considerable trade between distant areas in those parts, and this presupposes a high degree of organization. But the modern concept of the State derives from Greek thought. Their unit of organization was the city: the city, in fact, was the State. Within its walls were the civil and political centres, and arts, crafts and commerce were practised. Outside the walls pastoral and agricultural pursuits were carried on, and it was from these extra-mural activities that the citizens drew their sustenance. Trading had not extended to the point that each area was other than economically self-sufficient. For the Greeks, such a community was a matter not merely of physical necessity but of spiritual desirability. Aristotle categorically said that the State existed not only to make life possible but to make life good.[1] We are not entitled to deduce from this statement that the State had evolved functions that overrode the citizen: all that Aristotle showed was that the political organization existed to improve the lot of the citizens as individuals.

This legacy of idealism has been handed down to us. The concept of what is good is unhappily very difficult to define. The Greeks thought that the institution of slavery was right because it was this lower stratum of society that performed all the labour which enabled their thinkers, orators, writers and artists to adorn their age. Slavery may be justified on the ground that it obliged captives or subject races to lead an industrious life, in spite of human nature's supposed antipathy to regular and sustained effort, and it is certainly superior to massacring or eating one's captives. But as Laski pertinently says, it is not enough to obtain assent to these measures from those who benefit by them.[2]

It was largely if not entirely due to Christian teaching—for the Church was ever insistent upon the equality of man before God—that the institution of slavery gradually disappeared. This belief in the supreme importance of the individual has fashioned civilization as we know it, and still shapes it except in countries whose inhabitants have lost their freedom. This belief was taking practical shape, although very slowly, throughout the Middle Ages. Serfdom had taken the place of slavery—not a great change in status, but we must remember that a radical change could not suddenly be made in a society dependent on this type of labour. Moreover, we must not judge the morals of those days by the standards of today: truth is indeed the daughter of time. Both in Europe and in the East, however, a greater contribution than was at first realized was made to the freedom of the individual by two great religions, Christianity and Islam, which provided the chief means of education at this period. Knowledge enabled man to think for himself; no longer need he be so abjectly dependent on a master. Knowledge at this time was imperfect and nowhere universal, for it was professed only in a few centres, but it was enough to leaven the whole world. It made the greater progress in the West, but Europeans should remember that it is to Islam that we owe the discovery of algebra, without which engineering, and therefore modern civilization, would have been impossible.

At this time, new forces that were destined to change the entire social structure were making themselves felt. Trading within the confines of Europe and with the East began to grow:

[1] A short but good account of the Greek background is to be found in C. F. STRONG's *Dynamic Europe*, Ch. II.

[2] *The State in Theory and Practice*, Ch. I, pp. 36-37.

specialization of labour on a gradually increasing scale began to emerge. By the late Middle Ages—say in the fifteenth century—a very individualistic race of merchants had grown up, well-organized, and able to obtain valuable privileges from princes and states. This phase of human organization grew rapidly with discoveries in the art of navigation, which not only brought new areas within the ambit of trade but also brought the East and the West closer together. The discovery of printing made possible the dissemination of knowledge on a large scale. By the end of the sixteenth century trade between distant areas was already recognizable under the pattern of today. This new kind of organization—due entirely to the efforts of individuals—was given its greatest impetus by the industrial revolution which began in the eighteenth century in England, a century later elsewhere in Europe, and which is still going on everywhere.

This new era saw the rise of modern states, whose strength lay in economic power rather than in treasure or in knightly valour. It was still nowhere suggested that the State had powers more important than those of its citizens. In fact, this was a very individualistic age. These states had been made by individuals, and not the other way round. Men of diligence and ability could rise very quickly. If there was a conflict between economics and ethics, they comforted themselves with the belief then current that economic forces were self-correcting. Government interference to correct abuses was unnecessary, for if wages and conditions of work were unsatisfactory, the workers would go elsewhere, and the employers would be forced to improve conditions in order to retain their labourers; similarly, if someone charged too high a price for an article, it was assumed that no purchaser would be forthcoming and so prices would be forced down. Adam Smith, the "father" of political economy, was pleased to say that the best government was that which interfered the least with the everyday occupations of the people. There certainly were very obvious abuses—bad housing, long hours of work and unsuitable work for women and children.

It also became obvious that these shortcomings in the economic system were not self-correcting, for reasons that all economists know now. It was at this point that the State intervened, and in doing so curtailed the liberty of the individual to do as he pleased. We should, however, beware of condemning the system of private enterprise because of its abuses: we might as well go unshaven because it is possible to cut one's throat with a razor. Nevertheless, these abuses have served as an excuse for the State to assume more and more power over the individual. The difficulty is to draw a line between what the State and what the individual should do. It is right that evil-doers should be punished, that there should exist proper standards of weight and of purity; while there are certain works, such as drainage, water-supply, road-making, and so on, that the municipality or the State can undertake more efficiently than individuals, even if this means the individual's surrendering certain rights. A similar argument applies to education, for it is a sad fact that unless schooling is compulsory, many parents think primarily of the earning capacity of their children, and this is particularly true in the poorer countries. It also seems inevitable that, from a moral point of view, the State should assume some responsibility for the very young and the old.

But at this point another danger arises for the individual. If he has shuffled off his responsibilities for making roads, for military service, for looking after the old and the young, etc., he must delegate his powers to someone else, and the obligations he has avoided must be paid for. The taxation that becomes necessary, which even in our lifetime was once limited to the sum

necessary to pay for these services, has now assumed proportions that go much beyond this. Taxation has now become an instrument of policy wielded by the State. At first, it was only industry that was encouraged or discouraged by tariffs and other forms of fiscal policy—bad enough, as many people thought—but now it is common both in the East and in the West to use taxation as a means of abolishing large inequalities of income. And now we see

> The incredible cunning of the monstrous plan
> Whereby the Spider State has set its web for Man.[3]

This policy has far-reaching consequences. These may conveniently be considered under two heads: the economic and the moral. Dealing with the former aspect first, we should note that the finance of industry—today beyond the scope of any one man—has hitherto been undertaken by the well-to-do, and it is well that this should be so. These people have a personal stake in the industry they finance, and they see to it that the affairs of the undertaking are managed efficiently. If they are not well managed, those who provide the capital will get little or no return and may lose their money. Incidentally, the workers may lose their employment, so that from their point of view it is important that the company should flourish. When this function is transferred from the individual to the State or some other public body, there is no guarantee at all that the undertaking will be managed well: there is no personal incentive to make profit, while losses can too easily be passed on to the taxpayer. Moreover, risk-bearing is a prerequisite of progress in industry, and here again the State is no substitute for the private capitalist.[4] It is, of course, not the function of the State to bear the risks of industry; its function is to create the conditions in which these risks can best be taken by individuals.

A further economic objection to equality of incomes is that the high taxation necessary to put this policy into effect destroys the incentive to work beyond the point necessary for a comfortable existence if much of the earnings beyond this point are taken by the State. There is here a real danger that the springs of invention may dry up. In totalitarian states this danger has been guarded against by granting special privileges or making monetary grants to the intelligentsia, to the point that there are greater wage differentials in Russia than in the United Kingdom. So far as the proletariat in these countries are concerned, fear is the goad to work. In any case, whether in a Welfare State or in a totalitarian *régime*, great harm is done to a man's character by taking away his power of choice or by cosseting him on the one hand and directing him on the other.

The moral problem that arises is how much will man come to depend upon the State for benefits which under a natural system of free enterprise he would obtain for himself. In the modern Welfare State all elementary needs, such as housing, medical attention, schooling and certain foods, are available to all, free or at reduced prices irrespective of the income of the recipient. This takes away the mainspring of human achievement—reward varying directly with productivity—but it carries with it the seeds of its own destruction. The funds necessary are raised by taxation, and taxation depends upon productivity in the last analysis. If productivity decreases for any of the reasons we have noted, then the amount raised from taxation will diminish, and the system will run down. It is possible that production *per capita* may increase with the introduction of automation in

[3] R. U. JOHNSON: *The Crowned Republic.*

[4] This matter has already been dealt with in these pages. See "In Praise of Substantial Inequalities of Income" in our issue for April 1957, p. 157.

industry and as atomic power is mastered, but this will do no more than postpone the evil day.

Inequalities of income are, to a certain extent, the reflection of the differences in ability, energy, enterprise and thrift that exist between different people. These are natural differences, inherent in all men, and nothing that the State can do will eradicate them. It can, therefore, be argued that even if all are levelled to the same economic stratum, it will not be long before the differences are again reflected in society. But these differences will not be so great as before, because fiscal policy will have creamed off the top layers, but they will exist nevertheless. To reduce these differences radically by fiscal policy is to run counter to the laws of nature. It is inevitable that in this process the levelling should be downwards; it cannot be upwards, because those of lesser ability or diligence by nature cannot ascend. It is equality of *opportunity* that should be encouraged, and this is best done through education. Edmund Burke, a philosopher of the eighteenth century and one of the greatest names in the history of political literature, had this to say on the subject:—

> Those who attempt to level never equalize. In all societies consisting of various descriptions of citizens, some descriptions must be uppermost. The levellers therefore only change and pervert the natural order of things: they load the edifice of society by setting up in the air what the solidity of the structure requires to be on the ground.

It must be admitted that the idea of a Welfare State is one that appeals at first sight to reformers, and to none more than those who work to improve the standard of living of the poorer nations of the world. India has set her feet along this road, but the road is one beset with several dangers. These dangers are more potent in India because the leeway to make up is enormous and the productivity of the nation, on which such schemes rest, is very low. Because of low productivity, the underdeveloped countries cannot afford the Welfare State on the scale of rich countries. In poor nations certain reforms are vital, especially education, agricultural techniques, sanitary and simple medical measures and pest control, and these reforms these countries cannot afford to be without. These measures are in the nature of capital investment, and it is a sound financial principle that capital expenditure should be financed by way of loans, and not by taxation. A real agrarian revolution in India would so enrich the whole country that in a generation any loan could be repaid many times over.

Apart from the considerations we have noticed, there is one other danger inherent in any Welfare State. When the benefits to the population reach a certain point, which will vary in accordance with the degree of economic development reached by the country, the addition of any further benefit may entail the control of economic resources. The State may, for instance, discourage the building of cinemas, hotels or office blocks so that the resources that would have had to be used—including labour —may serve to build homes instead. This will be done by a system of licensing or prohibition. When the control of resources is total, the State is said to be a totalitarian State. As we have said, economic resources include labour —perhaps the most important of them all—so that individuals in such a country lose their personal liberty. As these measures will certainly be unpopular, restraint will also be placed on our means of expression, and no one will be able to write or read what he pleases; and, to make assurance double sure, the young will be indoctrinated in the new way of thought (or of lack of thought). At that point we will lose all liberty. In a country like India, that point is much nearer the start than it is in a rich country.

Let us remember John Stuart Mill's words:—

> A State which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its

hands, even for beneficial purposes—will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished.[5]

And again:—

The worth of a State in the long run is the worth of the individuals composing it.[6]

L. DELGADO

LEAVES FROM A PARIS DIARY

[**Shri Baldoon Dhingra's** reflections this month fall within his special province, for he belongs to Unesco's Education Department. In describing the thesis and technique of Professor Merz, he dwells upon a principle that is of special importance to Indian educators; for we shall soon run great risk of causing the very lop-sided development he criticizes in our attempts to industrialize the country. These leaves should serve as both warning and advice.—ED.]

I recall vividly my first meeting, some years ago, with the sage-like German educator, Albrecht Merz. It was at an international conference arranged by the Unesco Youth Centre, in Gauting, Münich. There the seventy-year-old Professor told us about his, to me, unique experimental school, Werkhaus-Werkschule, Stuttgart.

I heard his talk and saw him demonstrate his method, which he aptly called "Perception and Creation." It was, indeed, a revelation to me. Later, I had the pleasure of hearing him and his son, Helge, a distinguished Rhodes Scholar from Oxford, outline the system. I agreeably astonished them when I explained that the Merz method approached the Asian concept of art. For the true Asian artist did not copy from life. He desired to suggest the idea behind sensuous appearance, or what might be called the message, the "burden" of the statue or sculpture. Art was to him something more than an imitation of this *maya*; it was an attempt to make manifest what lay behind. Realism in the sense of the imitation of an object seen at the time of painting found no place in the ideal of Asian art. I recalled Leonardo da Vinci's dictum: "That figure is best which by its action best expresses the passion that animates it." I showed how Zen art takes "nature" as its starting point, and is not a representation but a transformation of nature. Professor Merz felt that he was trying to bring about such an awareness among his pupils.

Since the day I first met them I have kept in touch with the Merz family, all of whom, father, mother, sons and daughters-in-law, are lovingly absorbed in the growing school community. Indeed, what greater tribute to a father could there be than that his wife and children believe in and share his work? When he first started, thirty-five years ago, Merz was laughed at for his pains, but he kept on undismayed, teaching a handful of children, and later defying Hitler and the "Blitz." Even when the school itself was bombed he continued his work as though nothing had happened.

Not long ago my wife went to see the school at work and at this moment, through the kindness of the Merz family, my nineteen-year-old daughter is studying, at first-hand, this new approach to education.

Albrecht Merz's educational method aims at preserving and developing the innate creative faculties in all of us. Merz considers the prevailing system of education with its emphasis on academic training to be lop-sided. To Merz the

[5] *On Liberty*, Ch. 3.

[6] *Ibid.*, Ch. 5.

neglect of manual and artistic training produces a mechanical being suited to the present economic system but responsible for the decay in human values. He believes that an ideal educational system should become a triune concerto: the training of the intellect, training in art and training in manual work. The basic error in most schools is the clear breach between the intellectual and artistic disciplines, with an emphasis on the former. This over-intellectualization produces inhibitions, complexes, neuroses. Merz tried to bridge the gulf between the intellectual and creative forms of education by basing his teaching on a fusion of intellectual perception and creativeness. He thus puts forward his method as one which might lead us out of the dilemma of the "collective split-personality" and depersonalization.

For over thirty-five years, Merz has been maintaining that such education must start in the kindergarten and proceed to the end of the secondary level. His school now includes boarders. A child can complete the school course and proceed to the university.

At the Unesco conference in Gauting, Professor Merz had an exhibition of drawings, sculpture, weaving and tapestries to demonstrate his educational theory. This aroused considerable interest among the international body of participants, since the work of even the youngest child showed exceptional originality and maturity in creative conception. A number of foreign educators found it hard to believe that some exhibits were not the work of modern artists. Merz's main thesis is that every child starts life unspoilt and full of creative potentialities, presenting itself to parents and teachers as a priceless vessel filled with inner images, invaded too soon by the abstract conceptions of school teaching. Thus the images which the child bears within him demanding expression are soon destroyed.

I shall try to give some notion of how Merz gets the children to express themselves creatively. He will, for example, take a wash basin and a piece of hose-pipe to serve as a fountain in order to demonstrate the principle of "rising." He teaches the children a law of nature, such as "rising" and "falling," using terms which appear to be taken from an earlier intuitive world but little understood today, yet which are better suited to the young child than our modern scientific terms. The child understands these elemental forms, taken from man's original picture world, better than scientific terminology, which in fact gives, not a picture of the world, but only a plan or projection of the world on a plane-table.

When the child has understood these elemental forms, such as "rising" and "falling"—which appear somewhat naïve to the adult—he can discover them himself in nature over and over again. Thus Goethe's words that "man is born to see and taught to observe" come to life. When the child has in this way learned to observe certain natural phenomena, he can, given the right material, reproduce these principles himself in his own individual way. The result is a far freer expression than that achieved by psychological tests.

When the children have had some practice with these elemental forms, they find out for themselves that the principle, say, of "rising" is found in a tree, so that when they draw a tree it will not be copied from nature but will be as nature itself.[1] A comparison of the drawings shows as much diversity as there is in the nature of the children themselves.

Obviously, this method of education must be looked upon less with the eye of the art critic than with that of the educator or psychologist, since it is only the preliminary stage of art. As soon as the child has created something which he feels is a part of himself, and in which he discovers his own being, a

[1] "Tao models itself after nature."

process in personality formation is accomplished, which, if suppressed by wrong educational methods, produces inhibitions and neuroses.

This process might be called the fusion of the child's world of senses with nature. If this fusion does not take place, the child's conception of nature will remain that of a system of physical laws, and the result will be an over-intellectualization and a warped personality, afflicted by inhibiting forces, resulting in inferiority complexes. The development of personality through artistic activity, such as drawing, painting, carving, modelling, weaving—in short, the cultivation of creative forces —should not be a matter simply for a professional group who wish to encourage outstanding ability, as in an art academy, but should form at an early age an integral part of general education.

When I sent my daughter to stay with the Merz family, I wrote and told them a girl from the East was coming to learn from the West about an Eastern art tradition. She would take back to her own people an all but forgotten heritage and perhaps help others to create an Indian Centre adapted to Indian needs. For here seems to be an example where there is neither East nor West, and where, for a certainty, the extremities meet.

BALDOON DHINGRA

ONE CURRENCY

The August financial pages of the world's newspapers show that, so far as foreign exchange is concerned, the world is indeed one. They repeat the familiar lesson of *Karma,* that a stone dropped in a pond affects ultimately every drop. When recently France first considered devaluing the franc, financial perturbations were immediately felt in Britain, Germany, Holland and Belgium, not to mention the U.S.A. and its gold price. Then the franc was devalued and the economists of countries are now trying to adjust their currency problems to the reactions from this drop in the financial pond. "*My* country first" and "Devil take the hindmost!" In the final adjustments internal prices rise or fall and limitations are placed on imports or exports until an unstable balance results. In the long run nothing will be gained; some politicians will be briefly acclaimed or denounced, and the shrewd international financier who ignores limiting patriotisms scoops the cream off the bottle.

Just as there is need for a world system of weights and measures, so some bold economists should plan a world currency that transcends national boundaries. Part of a man's world income will then be taken by a One-World income-tax office and enforced by a One-World set of laws. Of course, this will not rule out shrewdness, cunning and dishonesty but it will make valid that which is becoming more and more patent, *i.e.,* that we live, labour and profit or lose in One World, whether we like it or not. From this, forward-thinking people will go on to realize that there must be a universal medium of communication and, just as the decimal system is obviously the handiest for coinage or measurements, so the English language will no doubt be recognized as the best present vehicle for world-wide communication.

ENDS AND SAYINGS

"————————ends of verse
And sayings of philosophers."
HUDIBRAS

The XXIXth International P.E.N. Congress was held at Tokyo from 2nd to 9th of September. The Japanese P.E.N. Club proved excellent hosts. India was represented by nine delegates led by Shrimati Sophia Wadia. Space forbids any lengthy report, but we must chronicle two items. The first is a message from Dr. S. Radhakrishnan to the Congress which was heard with rapt attention and greatly appreciated. The second is the excellent contribution by Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar to the Symposium on "The Reciprocal Influences of the Literatures of the East and the West on Present-day Writers Both in Regard to Æsthetic Values and Ways of Living." We have space only for one idea he presented:—

> Will the writers of today and tomorrow seek to comprehend the claims of the material world as also the intimations of the Spirit,—will they yoke the new pragmatism with the new awakened spirituality so as to complete the whole splendorous arc of human experience? If this could be done, literature would indeed grow magical wings and bring heaven and earth together, or rather fashion out here a new heaven and a new earth.

The role of intuition in the making of the great discoveries as in the solving of varied problems was brought out at the Indian Institute of World Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore, on August 24th, when Dr. Arthur E. Morgan's paper, "Some Types of Creative Thinking," which he had kindly sent the Institute, was read and discussed. Dr. Morgan does not discount the importance of thorough preliminary study of the problem and of subsequent verification of any flash of intuition that might come. He is, however, convinced of the contribution which mental pictures or illuminating flashes make, both by his own experience and by the testimony of others. He cites Michael Pupin, whose discovery made long-distance telephony practicable; the English physicist Thomas Young's immediate insights; the French mathematician Henri Poincaré's description of study without seeming results and then of sudden inspirations, accompanied by "the feeling of absolute certainty," generally confirmed by further work. "The unconscious ego," Poincaré averred, "plays a most important part in mathematical discovery."

Dr. Morgan has convinced himself that the intuition can be cultivated. The requisites? A questioning and well-stocked mind, careful study of the problem and the possibilities, constant judging and checking the judgment, living one's convictions, persistency in important issues and—confirmatory of folk wisdom—learning to "sleep over it."

That man has a power of direct perception of truth is borne out by the testimony of the ages. "Now here, now there," the rays of the "unfading golden light of Spirit" illumine "the thick, dark clouds of matter . . . like sun-sparks light the earth through the thick foliage of the jungle growth." But that its revelations are not limited to mere mundane truths and laws the insights of great intuitive philosophers, mystics and poets prove. This is surely a higher power than reason, which can never give us intimations of the Spirit, of human brotherhood, of immortality; and which must be stilled for the intuition to be heard. Is the latter properly ascribed to the unconscious or subconscious mind? Should we not rather recognize it as the Eye of Soul?

The Honourable Shri B. Vaikunta Baliga, Minister for Law and Labour in Mysore State, in his Independence Day Address at the Indian Institute of World Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore, on August 15th, stressed the traditional Indian ideal of freedom, which was also that of Gandhiji. That ideal was freedom of the mind and the spirit, with which was bound up the idea of culture.

Today, for all the talk of following the path of Gandhiji, the spirit and trend of his life were being widely ignored. For Gandhiji freedom was first and foremost an inner experience; *Swarajya* meant for him dominion over one's own self, control of the lower impulses by the higher ideals. The hold which Gandhiji had over the Indian mind was, he felt, due to its being in tune with the national tendencies. He had left in his words and deeds a wonderful message for his countrymen to follow.

> It expressed in modern terms ... the discipline embodied in the *Gita,* the primacy of self-control, the identification of truth and non-violence. It is this basic assumption which is the root of the ancient culture of this country, and it is from this taproot alone that a cultural renaissance can draw its nourishment.

Indian experience recognized apparent antitheses but saw their reconciliation and co-ordination as the mark of a cultured life. Even in practical affairs the approach of detachment was of value. The disinclination to take sides was characteristic of the Indian cultural outlook.

For Gandhiji religion was basic, but his religion was nothing narrow or exclusive. "He used the word religion in the broad sense of self-realization... based on the conviction that morality is the basis of things, and truth the substance of morality."

Shri Baliga cited kindred concepts in other faiths, exclaiming, "From the great teachings that have come down to us from Saints and Sages, cannot we understand that Divinity is still in all of us and that we can make the world a beautiful place?"

The Convocation Address of the Madras University, delivered on August 28th, by Shri P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of Madras, breathes an air of freshness; it is devoid of the usual platitudes, and calls to mind Madame H. P. Blavatsky's definition of the *real* object of modern education:—

> ...to cultivate and develop the mind in the right direction; to teach the disinherited and hapless people to carry with fortitude the burden of life (allotted them by Karma); to strengthen their will; to inculcate in them the love of one's neighbour and the feeling of mutual interdependence and brotherhood; and thus to train and form the character for practical life.

Shri Rajamannar, referring to the immediate problem of employment facing almost every student, gave them this practical advice:—

> One thing is ... clear and that is, with the exception of a few, the majority will not be reaching the top, financially or officially. The only advice I can give you is that if success does not crown your efforts or your ambitions are not realized, you should cultivate an attitude of gracious acceptance. In a large measure, our Karma theory helps one to cultivate that spirit....All that I wish to impress on you is that you should cultivate a sense of detachment, which will help you to take good things and bad things in life with equanimity.

He then stressed the importance of spiritual values in life and appealed to the new graduates to pursue them.

> Not all the material wealth of the world is worth while if it is gained by the loss of spiritual values. Life becomes worse than animal existence without such values. Respect for spiritual values does not consist in superficial demonstration of religiosity. It consists in respect for charity, not for spite: for kindness, not for greed; for humility, not for ostentation; for love, not for hatred.

What a refreshing contrast to the present concept of modern education which trains students for a life of ferocious selfishness and struggle for honours and emoluments! It was in the closing years of the last century that Madame

Blavatsky raised her voice in protest against this soulless system of education. It is flooding

> the market with money-making machines, with heartless selfish men—animals—who have been most carefully trained to prey on their fellows and take advantage of the ignorance of their weaker brethren!

The concluding part of the Chief Justice's speech also is reminiscent of her ideal of education as promoting peace and universal brotherhood, for he said:—

> I shall conclude my address with my most earnest appeal that every one of you should do his best to promote peace and good will. Ultimately, the world means individual men and women. Unless the heart of every man and woman is filled with a genuine longing for peace, there will be no peace among the nations of the world. Do not think that the world will be a dull place without wars. New scientific discoveries, new masterpieces of art and literature, new adventures in ideas can be as exciting as modern warfare, but without its indiscriminate slaughter and wanton destruction. Some of you, I am sure, are born fighters. Such of you can devote their whole lifetime to fighting poverty and disease; fighting inequality and oppression, fighting ignorance and superstition

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Of the many purposes which the newly organized National Book Trust is designed to serve, by far the most important is that of breaking the barriers of regional consciousness. This was underlined by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, in his inaugural address at New Delhi on August 1st when he stressed the great role of books in disciplining the minds of people and fostering national solidarity. The Trust has other desirable objects, such as the production of good books at prices within the reach of the common man, without being deterred by the hazards of the publishing trade, and the translation of standard works from one Indian language into another.

As the nation is still lacking a considerable body of easily shared knowledge of her cultural heritage, it is hoped the National Book Trust will help to capture the imagination of the people through the medium of its publications. It should, in the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan, help vitalize our people, remove their centuries-old inertia, and give them a cause worth working for. What we need today is greater loyalty, greater devotion and greater discipline—the submerging of our private interests for the sake of the public good. Books should be critical of the contemporary trends of our society, which are dividing us from one another. They must plead for greater loyalty and dedication to greater efficiency and toleration.

The National Book Trust, which is a non-profit publishing enterprise financed by the State, may seem to invade the domain of private publishers, as publishing is a highly individualized business, its rules being ultimately settled by a kind of interrelationship between the author, the publisher and the reader. But, as the Prime Minister pointed out, instead of cutting into the publishing trade the Trust may well stimulate the reading habit in the country and so create a larger and more varied market for commercial publishers. If the Trust succeeds in tapping new talent, in providing conditions under which the writing of good books is profitable for the author, and in building up a new and larger body of readers, it will have more than justified its creation. But the Government should secure the help and co-operation of the non-official public; a strong non-official body to help and advise the official members of the Trust would obviate any fear of undue State influence upon the Trust. India must avoid, at every turn and at any cost, totalitarian control of authors and artists, publishers and booksellers.

"The Victors Are Vanquished" is the title of the opening article in *Encounter* for August. Its subtitle, "A Spanish Testament : 1957," gives the context, but the proposition has a wide validity. Although elsewhere the Fascist pattern of totalitarianism is supposed to have

passed discredited from the scene, in Spain under the ruling Falangist Party and Franco it survives—but not, apparently, securely, not unchallenged.

M. François Bondy, in his Preface to the "Spanish Testament," mentions the unrest in Spain, the wide-spread "revolt of the young" and also the alienation of the intellectuals. He describes his own two meetings with the twice (and perhaps still) imprisoned Dionisio Ridruejo, formerly a militant Falangist, now looked to by the students for guidance in opposing official control. He then gives extracts from the interview given by Señor Ridruejo a few months ago to Ortego Sierra, for publication in *Bohemia,* a Cuban weekly review. It was in this interview that Ridruejo, looking back over the Revolution of the 30's and its aftermath, declared that

> the victors engender the vanquished; and not only do they engender them, they annex them. After all these years, there are many among us who were on the winning side, and yet feel themselves to be vanquished....

The implication is profoundly true. The law of action and proportionate reaction is a universal law. It is not only that violence begets violence and repression invites reprisals, although it is as true as when the Buddha proclaimed it as "the Law Eternal" that

> in this world never is enmity appeased by hatred; enmity is ever appeased by love.

There is, however, an even subtler alchemy involved. Man grows like unto what he thinks on; those who fix their gaze upon another's imperfections court them for themselves.

In World War II the Western democracies (and the U.S.S.R.), obsessed with the obvious evils of Fascism, joined forces against the nations committed to the Fascist ideology. Technically the victory was to the former, but who can fail to see the growing trend towards State control in the post-war years in the victorious democracies?

The Fascist ideology almost seems to have changed masters—or should we say, slaves? What were the witch hunts of recent painful memory in the United States but the expression of a Fascist trend? What of the increasing regimentation in England in the name of the Welfare State and the parallel developments in India? What of *apartheid* in South Africa?

The plough of war broke up the sod and after the plough came the harrow of State control, of the growing pressure to conformity, threatening to level all to a featureless monotony. Sow conformity and reap cultural stultification, denial of human dignity and of opportunities for normal human growth. Sow conformity and reap also intolerance, racial, national, religious, social, ideological, bearing the bitter grain of violence and war.

Motorists have blamed the lack of modern roads designed for traffic for the appalling road-accident rate. The falsity of the claim is shown by the Medical Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (August 22nd), who considers alcohol the major cause of road accidents, even when only a slight amount has been taken. A recent estimate in Great Britain gives a yearly figure of about 40,000 accidents having an alcoholic factor and, although a third of these might have happened anyway, the problem of drink and the driver cannot be ignored. Research by independent experts indicates how seriously drivers' judgment and reactions are impaired even by a "moderate" quantity, such as many driving home from public houses, hotels and cocktail parties might have taken. The actual impairment of reactions in driving a car even after a modest drink was demonstrated recently on television by Professor Drew of Bristol University. Dr. N. I. Spriggs, a police surgeon who analyzed road accidents in 1953 in the Leicestershire-Rutland area, blamed alcohol for at least half of those occurring after

10 p.m. Independent investigations by insurance companies confirm this.

Chemical tests that show the percentage of alcohol in the blood afford a means of judging the degree to which a person is dangerously under its influence. Such tests are legally accepted by many European countries and American States. In Great Britain, unfortunately, they are considered an infringement of individual rights. A person involved in an accident can refuse a medical test, and many doctors are unwilling to turn out at ungodly hours to make it. Clever defending counsel easily impugn police evidence alone, or even medical testimony unsupported by the scientific chemical test, and the police are loath to charge people with the offence of "driving while under the influence of drink" because of the unsatisfactory conviction rate. "Changes cannot come about without the education of public opinion. It is the duty of the medical profession and other bodies to bring weight to bear on this problem." There are subtler dangers in alcohol. But if the obvious ones could be demonstrated forcibly enough to strip drinking of some of its deadly glamour and to throw it out of fashion, then the world would benefit to an unsuspected extent, not confined to the cutting down of the road-accident rate.

The recent announcement of the development by Pakistan's Council of Scientific and Industrial Research of a new derivative of *Rauwolfia serpentina,* claimed to be very effective in the treatment of high blood pressure and mental disorders is interesting in connection with a *Times* (London) article on "Tranquillizers." The *Times* Medical Correspondent says in that article that even as recently as 1950 "tranquillizers" were unheard-of outside a few research institutes and laboratories.

Four years ago none were available commercially. Today over thirty of them are on the market and in 1956 in the U.S.A. over thirty billion tablets of one of these preparations alone had been sold to the public.

While he concedes the probability, on the evidence so far available, that certain tranquillizing drugs have their value in treating some forms of mental disease, he admits "no justification for their indiscriminate use in the treatment of anxiety states. . . .There is certainly no pill that will cure anxiety." He denies the existence of any drug "whose main action is the control of anxiety and psychomotor agitation without producing hypnosis or clouding of consciousness. . .and can be administered with safety over long periods." No wonder a recent American report cited had described "the excessive use of tranquillizing drugs in the treatment of anxiety as a threat to American Society"! A threat certainly; perhaps also an indictment of its tempo of life ?

The *Times* Medical Correspondent said further that tranquillizing drugs were "not without their dangers if given in doses. . .likely to prove effective" and that the WHO committee on addiction-producing drugs had classified these "tranquillizers" as "potentially habit-forming."

Tranquillizers are technically called "ataractic" from *ataraxia,* "freedom from disturbance of mind or passion." Self-effort is required for the individual to attain this freedom safely, as has been taught since ancient times in India. There is no safe substitute for self-discipline; and habit-forming drugs, we are assured, have not only a direct and marked but also a very deleterious influence upon one's psychic state.

"The African Renaissance" is the title of a wireless talk by T. L. Hodgkin, author of *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (*The Listener* of 15th August). In it he analyzes the three view-points that emerged at the First International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, held at Paris, in September 1956, to consider the question, "What are the essential qualities of the Negro-African inheritance? How best can it be developed and renewed?" The colonial

epoch, though relatively short, has left a permanent mark, in the "assimilation" by the African of European culture. Only purely personal relationships can now be expressed in the vernacular languages, and the question is, how can the African "make use of European ideas, institutions and techniques, without becoming their prisoner—without ceasing to be African?"

Political independence by itself does not give the answer. The French colonies have been exposed more than the others "to the dogma that there is only one civilization" (the French). By repercussion, the focus of the African renaissance is in France. Mr. Hodgkin perceives, under the various minor oppositions in the African and West Indian groups, three fundamental view-points.

The Africanophil standpoint is represented by M. Senghor, who holds that all future achievement, depends on a return to, a renewal of, the ancient African heritage, with its typical metaphysic. This conceived the world as a hierarchy of forces, human beings as a hierarchy of groups, culture as a complex of activities, symbols, rhythms, all conveying a sense of unity, and art as essentially a collective expression.

Opposed to this is the view-point of the Westernizer, represented by the American Negro writer, Richard Wright, living in Paris. He sees African civilization as fundamentally young, not old. The "moribund mediæval metaphysic" must be rejected. What is needed is a set of Western values—a secular State, free circulation of ideas, the right of protest, autonomy of art, science as a liberating force, human persons as ends in themselves, and so on. Such values, however, when taken over by the new Asian and African *élite,* cease to be "Western" and become simply human.

The third view-point, represented by the poet, M. Cesaire, Marxist deputy from Martinique, declares that the African must reject both inherited ideas and attitudes and acquired European values, but draw selectively upon both. He considers that historical initiative must precede the task of reconstruction.

Mr. Hodgkin sums up the most important questions as "What is there of enduring value in our African traditions? What do we need to take over from Europe and adapt to our purposes? What can we afford to discard?" He ends with a comment on the possibilities arising from the greater impact of African upon European culture. "I find it an exciting prospect."

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